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LENIN

AND INESSA ARMAND

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Sokolov B.V.

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`They met in 1909. Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin) is 39, Inessa Armand is 35. She is a mother of many children and a fiery revolutionary. He is the leader of the Bolshevik Party, who is destined to reverse Russia.

The daughter of an opera singer and actress, Inessa was born in Paris in 1874. After the death of her father, she was brought up with her sister in Moscow. At the age of 19, she married the son of a major manufacturer, Alexander Armand, and then, having given birth to four children, she went to his brother, with whom they were united by a common cause - social democracy.

She went down in history as a party leader at the dawn of the country of the Soviets and the beloved of the leader of the proletariat. The Krupskaya-Lenin Armand triangle fell apart in 1920, after the sudden death of Inessa Teodorovna, who was buried near the Kremlin wall... Krupskaya took care of her children.

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Dedicated to my mother and wife with love

"RED TRIANGLE". Inessa
Armand and Nadezhda Krupskaya:
DOUBLE PORTRAIT IN LENIN'S MIRROR

Instead of a preface

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, better known to Russia and the whole world under the pseudonym Lenin, in the USSR, during his lifetime, turned into the most revered "icon". Over the course of seven decades, Soviet Leniniana portrayed the leader to us practically devoid of not only any human weaknesses, but also many passions and feelings inherent in all people. For example, love for a woman (children to the mythological Lenin, thank God, were allowed to love). Meanwhile, there was no taboo on Ilyich's personal life abroad. Back in 1936, the former Bolshevik Grigory Alekseevich Aleksinsky, who later became an implacable opponent of Bolshevism and one of the authors of the version about Lenin - a German shtion, in the preface to the memoirs of one of Lenin's few mistresses quite rightly wrote: "Official admirers not only mummify and tint his embalmed corpse, but also create a gilded legend around his personality. And only very rarely is it possible to

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get acquainted with materials about the real, living Lenin ... In these stories, as well as in his letters, Lenin appears to us not as the official Soviet "bogomazes" paint him, but as he was in action

vitality".

Both women, which will be discussed in this book, Inessa Fedorovna Armand and Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, remained in history only due to their closeness to one person - Lenin. Otherwise, only very attentive readers of very boring works would know about them - about the social democratic movement in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century and about the formation of Soviet state institutions. Both Armand and Krupskaya were heavily mythologized by Soviet propaganda. I saw one of my main tasks in understanding what they and Lenin were in reality, what feelings they had for each other, what they saw their own fate, the fate of Russia and all of humanity. Whether I succeeded is for the readers to judge.

The laconic language of police documents preserved portrait descriptions of both women. Here is what it said about Armand: "Inessa, an intellectual ... about 26-28 years old (a report was written by an agent provocateur in 1911, when our heroine was already full 37, so she looked, we admit, much younger than her years . - B. S.), of medium height, thin, oblong, clean and white face; dark blond with a reddish tint; very lush hair on the head, although the braid gives the impression of being tied (in fact, it's real, and not some kind of chignon. - B.S) ". And here is a portrait of Krupskaya from the same time: "... about 36-38 years old (actually - 42, police agents mysteriously rejuvenated revolutionary women. - B.S.), above average or even tall, thin , an oblong, pale, wrinkled face, dark blond, an intellectual, wears a hairdo and a pu hat ... "Even according to these stingy lines, if we didn't

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believed by many photographs, it could be concluded that Armand was much more spectacular than Krupskaya. But, I think, not only and not so much because of this, Ilyich was carried away by her ...

I warn you right away: I will say very little about Krupskaya's pedagogical activity and the role of Armand in the struggle for equal rights for Russian women. After all, only their role in the biography of the one who is considered by some to be the greatest and kindest genius, and others the greatest villain of our century, is of interest today. Not a single Leninist biography is complete without mentioning these names, which is not surprising: Krupskaya was the wife, and Armand was the only known hitherto mistress of the creator and leader of the Bolshevik Party. How did two women and Lenin form a "red triangle", what kind of personalities were Inessa Armand and Nadezhda Krupskaya, what did love and revolution mean in their lives? I will try to answer these and some other questions.

In Soviet times, the story about the relationship between Lenin and Inessa Armand was tabooed. Historians and publicists were allowed to write only about the love of "Comrade Inesa" for Vladimir Ilyich as a leader and fiery revolutionary, her admiration for him, her admiration for him, but not passionate, sensual love for Lenin the man. It is clear that any allusions to sex were absolutely forbidden both for Lenin and Armand, and for Lenin and Krupskaya. There is reason to believe that the correspondence between Vladi Mir Ilyich and Inessa Fyodorovna was seriously cleaned both during their lifetime and after their death. In the memoirs of contemporaries, the love of Inessa and Ilyich was also very carefully managed so as not to destroy the myth, the hero of which had to be always faithful not only to the revolution, but also to his wife, and even in his thoughts he should not have cheated on both. Virtually none of those who knew Inessa Armand or Nadezhda Krupskaya did not subsequently become

opponent of Lenin, did not emigrate from Soviet Russia and

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did not leave any candid memoirs. Their images were also heavily mythologized, and, in fact, apart from personal data, we do not know very much for certain about the life of two women close to Lenin. And how much valuable information has been irretrievably lost in destroyed letters and never written memoirs! Much

I will have to think, and then my readers will have to think more. And yet let's try to recreate the appearance of Ilyich's two faithful girlfriends, barely visible through the fog of myths.

Krupskaya and Armand
have not met yet

About the beginning of the life path of our heroines is known quite accurately. Nadezhda Krupskaya was born in Psterburg on February 14/26, 1869." Her father, Konstantin Ignatievich Krupsky, came from the Polish nobles of the Vilna province. Nadezhda's grandfather, Ignatius Kalikstovich, a career officer in the Russian army, lost all his property in the war of 1812 and, after returning from a foreign campaign, moved to the Kazan province. There, on May 29, 1838, Konstantin Ignatievich was born. Eight years later, Ignatius Kalikstovich retired with the rank of major and died soon after. Kostya was assigned to the Konstantinovsky Cadet Corps in St. Petersburg. Then - the Mikhailovsky Artillery School, from where Konstantin Ivanovich was released in 1857 with the rank of second lieutenant. While still in the cadet corps, he met Andrei Afanasyevich Potebnya. They kept in touch later. After the school, Krupsky was assigned to the Smolensk Infantry Regiment, located in the Polish town of Kielce. Here are the revolutionary demos

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All dates in the book relating to Russia before January 19 (February 1), 1918 are given according to the old style (Julian calendar). Dates relating to other states, as a rule, are given according to the new style (Gregorian calendar), which was introduced in Russia on February 1, 1918. In some cases, double dating is given according to both calendars. In the 19th century, the old style was 12 days late compared to the new one, in the 20th century it was 13 days late.

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crats led by Potebnya sought to create a secret officer organization. In the notebook of Nikolai Ogarev, a list of its members was preserved, entered there by Potebnya with his own hand. It also included Krupsky, Lieutenant of the Smolensk Regiment of the 7th Infantry Division (this rank is Konstantin

Ignatievich received in 1859). Of course, Andrei Afanasyevich, in a message to one of the editors of the famous Kolokol, could wittingly or unwittingly exaggerate the degree of revolutionary character of the Russian officers in Poland and classify an old comrade in the Committee of Russian Officers created by him, sympathetic to the views of the revolutionary democrats, but by no means ready take up arms against the government. Potebnya himself, in his struggle against the autocracy, went to the end, in 1863 he sided with the Polish rebels and died in battle with the Russian troops. Lieutenant Krupsky, as we shall see later, did not break his oath.

Upon arrival at the duty station, the young officer fell under the influence of Polish culture, quickly learned the language of his ancestors, was carried away by the poetry of Mickiewicz, the music of Chopin ... But the air smelled of a thunderstorm. Great reforms began in the Russian Empire. The Poles hoped that the Kingdom of Poland would gain the long-awaited independence. But Tsar Osvoboditel limited himself to carrying out liberal reforms on the Polish lands, restoring the political rights of the Polish elite. The Russian government counted on an alliance with the local gentry, the intelligentsia and the Catholic Church. It hoped to convince the educated classes of Polish society of the benefits of keeping the Kingdom of Poland autonomously within the Russian Empire. The reforms were actively implemented in 1861-1862 by the head of the civil administration of the Kingdom, Marquis Alexander Velepolsky. However, his activities led to results that were exactly the opposite of what was expected. Later, Velepolsky's biographer, historian V.D. Spasovich wrote: "... His enterprise collapsed not because it was not

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logical, but because it was started at a moment when any granted relief and benefits could only be interpreted as concessions and when the dispute between the two nations was complicated by the possibility of intervention by Western European states. The Poles counted on the help of the West (unfounded, as subsequent events showed) and demanded complete independence.

An uprising was brewing, and the officers stationed in Poland felt it. Konstantin Ignatievich was not eager to shoot blood brothers. But I understand. being in Kielce, the role of the punisher cannot be avoided. And he made a desperate attempt to transfer to his native Kazan. On November 12, 1862, he submitted a petition to the regiment commander, Colonel Chentery, who also came from the Polish gentry:

leave-

"Dear sir, Xavier Osipovich!

Excuse me for the frank, ridiculous request with which I am addressing you as a boss who is always ready to take part in the fate of a subordinate. From the age of nine, providence separated me from everyone close to my heart, and together with my dear native land, leaving in my soul sweet memories of the happy years of childhood, the picturesque places of my native nest! .. About everything that is so dear to everyone!

From such circumstances of life, some kind of unbearable longing crushes my soul - my whole organism, and the desire to serve in my native land day by day takes possession of my feelings more strongly, paralyzes all my thoughts.

I am sure, Ksavery Osipovich, that you will understand the sad state of my soul and, as a human being, will not disregard my request, you will gladly take the trouble of transferring me to the troops stationed in the Kazan province (the place of my homeland). Perhaps it is no small task on your part to translate me, especially since I do not have my own funds to travel such a long journey, but still I hope that my request will be fulfilled.

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The good-natured colonel understood everything and supported the report. But it was too late.

The fact that an uprising was coming was also suspected by Velepolsky himself. To prevent it, the marquis in January 1863 announced a recruitment according to special nominal lists. Thus, Velepolsky wanted to remove "unreliable elements" from the Kingdom. However, this measure only hastened the denouement. Immediately after the announcement of the rivers of the rut collection, an uprising broke out in the Polish, Lithuanian and Belarusian lands. Lieutenant Krupsky, albeit with a heavy heart, had to fulfill his military duty. Konstantin Ignatievich showed his sympathy for the Poles only in the fact that sometimes he allowed the captured rebels to escape.

After the suppression of the uprising, many of the Polish gentry tiches - Krupsky's acquaintances - were exiled to Siberia, and their lands were confiscated. Now Konstantin Ignatievich was forced to divide the company of the Russian landowners who remained in the province. And on one of the evenings he met his future wife.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna recalled: "Although my parents were nobles by birth, they did not have a stake or a court, and when they got married, it often happened that they had to borrow two kopecks to buy food." In the track record of Konstantin Ignatievich, it was noted: "There is no family and acquired real estate and estates behind him, his parents and wife." Elizaveta Vasilievna Tistrova, the future wife of Lieutenant Krupsky, also did not inherit any fortune.

and from an early age knew the bitterness of orphanhood. She was the daughter of Lieutenant Colonel of the Corps of Mining Engineers Vasily Ivanovich Tistrov (judging by her last name, one of the Russified Germans or English), but very early she remained an orphan. For eight years she studied at the Pavlovsk military orphanage institute for noble maidens in St. Petersburg. The mother's stories about this time the daughter later conveyed as follows:

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"A very good student, she had a lower score for behavior, but she was the favorite of the class. Steal the mincemeat from the classy lady and feed it to hungry friends, bombard the door of the Mochalka (boss) without blinking, endure the screams and reprimands of the classy German lady, do not answer the lesson because the other girls did not learn it, take the blame others - she was the first craftswoman for this.

When, in 1858, Liza Tistrova graduated from the institute, which provided education in the volume of a gymnasium, she received not only a matriculation certificate, but also the title of a home teacher. For several years she served as a governess in St. Petersburg, until in 1864 she accepted the invitation of the landowner Rusa new to move to her estate in Poland near Kielce, where she was to raise three children. The children fell in love with the new governess, the hostess was friendly with her. But the very atmosphere of landlord life had a depressing effect on Elizaveta. Among the peasants lived the memory of the recent wildest tricks of the feudal lords. Many years later, Eli Zavsta Vasilievna told her daughter Nadia: "Father ... as a landowner practiced the following: when some kind of unwitting serf ... did not want to become his mistress, they beat her half to death, and then sewed her into a bag, poured grain and let in turkeys, which were pecked to death." According to Nadezhda Konstantinovna, "during the two years she served as governess to the landowner, her mother had seen enough of how the landowners treated the peasants, what a beast they were."

The young, educated lieutenant, who sympathized with the people, stood out noticeably for the better against this background. Very quickly, Lisa and Konstantin fell in love with each other. However, several years passed before they became husband and wife. Shortly after the suppression of the Polish uprising, Ruchik Krupski was appointed district military commander in Kielce.

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One of his main tasks was to carry out agrarian reform. This reform was initiated by the Russian authorities in the Kingdom of Poland in order to weaken the gentry and drive a wedge between them and the Polish peasantry. The implementation of the reform was facilitated by the fact that many landowners were in favor of participating

in the uprising they were exiled to Siberia, and their lands were confiscated. However, the *spyahichs* who remained in the Kingdom received no more than almost symbolic compensation for the lands confiscated in favor of the peasants. All the lands and capitals of the Catholic Church were also confiscated, and many monasteries were closed. Now the government sought to rely on the peasantry and the emerging Polish bourgeoisie against the gentry. The reform of local self-government led to the fact that the gentry lost any benefits in the election of *voits* - elders who headed *gminas* (administrative units similar to Russian *volosts*). This circumstance objectively led to a rapprochement between the positions of the gentry and the peasants, but the class alienation between them remained.

Konstantin Ignatievich successfully coped with his duties. He managed to maintain a balance between the interests of peasants and landlords. With many of the gentry, Krupsky was friendly, and he felt sympathy for the common people, which is natural for a person of democratic convictions. In 1866, Krupsky was promoted to captain.

In 1867, the Military Law Academy was opened in St. Petersburg. Konstantin Ignatievich and his older brother Alexander decided to enter there, successfully passed the exams and were enrolled in the first year. Successful graduation from the academy opened up the possibility of a career in military justice and administration. Obviously, Captain Krupsky, having worked as a district military commander, found his calling in the field of administration. Here he hoped to make a worthy use of his forces and at least somehow alleviate the situation of the people. It seemed that the reforms begun by Alexander II gave grounds to count on the implementation

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similar intentions. However, just a few years later, Konstantin Krupsky's hopes were dashed.

Konstantin Ignatievich and Elizaveta Vasilievna got married in 1868, shortly after moving to the capital. At first, the newlyweds settled with relatives of the Tistrovs on Officerskaya Street, not far from the Moika embankment, where the Military Law Academy was located. Here, on February 14/26, 1869, their daughter Nadezhda was born, who was destined to leave a memory of the Krupsky family for centuries. The three of us were crowded in a small room, and some time later the family moved to a more spacious, but remote from the center apartment near Alarchin Bridge near the confluence of the Pryazhka and Krivusha rivers (the latter is now called the Griboyedov Canal). The Krupskys were still constrained in their means, and Konstantin Ignatievich, in order to save money on the horse-drawn carriage, continued to go to classes on foot. But now the path was not close.

In September 1869, Captain Krupsky graduated from the Military Law Academy in the 2nd category. This does not allow

prevented him from getting a position in the military justice authorities. In this regard, Konstantin Ignatievich was fired "due to the impossibility of being used in the Russian military service." Only in February 1870 did he manage to get the post of county chief in the town of Groets near Warsaw. In this regard, Captain Krupsky was awarded the civilian rank of collegiate assessor, corresponding to an army major. Since military ranks were valued more than civilians and their holders officially had an advantage in ranks of the same class over civilians, when entering the civil service, the military usually received a rank one class higher.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna recalled in 1925: "Father was a very passionate man... He believed that honest people should go to Poland to serve. When he arrived in the district assigned to him, all sorts of outrages were done there - the Jews were dragged out to the square and under the drum

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they cut their sidelocks, the Poles were forbidden to fence their cemetery and drove pigs there, which tore up the graves. Father stopped all these outrages. He started a hospital, set it up in an exemplary manner, pursued bribery and earned the hatred of the gendarmerie and Russian officials and the love of the population - especially the Poles and the Jewish poor.

It is possible that the story of sidelocks being cut to the beat of a drum is a kind of poetic exaggeration. In the first post-revolutionary years, it was fashionable to flaunt national oppression in the Russian Empire, and at the same time, real facts were sometimes bizarrely mixed with propaganda fantasies. However, there is no doubt that the Jews really had a hard time. And in Poland, they became victims of anti-Semitism, both by the Poles and by Russian officials and the military. The Poles themselves suffered from the arbitrariness of the Russian authorities, who sought to Russify them. It was in Russification that the government saw the goal of the reforms carried out in the Kingdom of Poland. As early as May 1870, teaching in all the local gymnasiums began to be conducted in Russian.

Konstantin Ignatievich did not succeed in Russification, and he stopped the bribery of his subordinates. The consequences were not long in coming. Nadezhda Konstantinovna testifies: "Soon, all sorts of anonymous denunciations rained down on my father, he was recognized as unreliable, dismissed without explanation and put on trial (22 crimes were charged against him: he speaks Polish, dances a mazurka, was not lit on Tsar's day (i.e. on the name day of Alexander P. - B.S.) in the office of illumination, does not go to church, etc.) without the right to enter the public service. I note that from this story it is not very clear why exactly Krupsky was convicted: for dancing a mazurka, or for not going to church? Renders-

Xia, the default here is not accidental.

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Konstantin Ignatievich was convicted for carrying out an agricultural census in his district without the permission of the provincial authorities. This was qualified as abuse of power and resulted in a guilty verdict and a ban on the collegiate assessor Krupsky from holding any positions in the public service, as well as from living in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Why did such an innocent, in essence, act turn into a de facto "ban on the profession" for Nadezhda Konstantinovna's father? In Soviet times, this question was answered simply: the conduct of the census was nothing less than a revolutionary act! Konstantin Ignatievich-de carried out ... the resolution of the conference of the 1st International on the conduct of a statistical census of agricultural workers. True, what kind of self-interest does the International have from data on just one Polish district? After all, in other districts of the Russian Empire, he, the International, did not seem to instruct anyone to conduct such censuses? And are agricultural censuses really such a seditious thing that only revolutionaries can conduct them? Surely the authorities never carried them out?

I think the whole "case" of collegiate assessor Krupsky was the product of two factors: the Russian bureaucratic system and the hatred of ordinary officials for those bosses who tried to encroach on their "sacred right" to take bribes. Officials in anonymous letters tried not to forget a single sin of Konstantin Ignatievich, real or imaginary, in the hope that quantity would eventually turn into quality and the unloved boss would be removed after all. Hence the completely anecdotal accusations, such as dancing the mazurka and learning the Polish language. Why shouldn't the county chief in the Warsaw province learn the Polish language. And who can confidently prove whether Krupsky goes to church or not? Not without reason, at the trial, which took place in 1873, 21 of the 22 counts of the accusation fell away. Only the ill-fated census remained. It is curious that not

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how many years later, when the case of the former county chief was considered in the highest court - the Senate, the prosecutor, trying to prove the validity of the verdict, put forward the version that Krupsky conducted the census in the interests and for the money of the Polish landowners. A century later, Marxist historians convinced the most respectable public that Konstantin Ignatievich, on the contrary, acted exclusively in the interests of the rural proletariat and peasants.

When a person is criticized for the same act both from the "right" and "from the left", it is logical to assume that in fact

in fact, he did not belong entirely to either of the two camps and acted according to his own considerations. First of all, Konstantin Ignatievich carried out the Persianation on his own initiative in order to streamline the collection of taxes. Both landlords and peasants could be interested in this. But officials did not need the census at all, as it narrowed the field for abuses and related income. The intricacies of bureaucratic regulations made it possible to accuse Krupsky of exceeding his authority, since it was very difficult to determine whether the district chief had the right to conduct an agricultural census with his authority or not.

The tale that Nadezhda Konstantinovna's father acted on behalf of the First International was born after the October Revolution, when it was necessary to "deepen" the revolutionary genealogy of the widow of the founder of the Bolshevik Party. Krupskaya herself, in the short autobiographical story "My Life", which was first published in 1925, still spoke very carefully about her father's political views: "In those days, there were many dissatisfied among the officers. My father always read a lot, did not believe in God, was familiar with the socialist movement in the West. In our house constantly, as long as my father was alive, there were revolutionaries (first the nihilists, then the Narodniks, then the Nationalists); to what extent my father himself took part in the revolutionary movement, I cannot judge. He died when

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I was 14 years old, and the conditions of the then revolutionary activity required strict secrecy; The revolutionaries therefore spoke little about their work. When there was talk of revolutionary work, I was usually sent off to buy something in a shop or given some other assignment. Nevertheless, I have heard enough revolutionary talk. And the memorable day of March 1, 1881, when a terrorist bomb cut short the life of the Tsar-Liberator, Nadezhda Konstantinovna described quite calmly: "I still remember the evening of March 1, 1881, when Narodnaya Volya killed Tsar Alexander II with a bomb. First, our relatives came to us, terribly frightened, but did not say anything. Then, in a hurry, my father's old comrade in the corps, a military man, rushed in and began to tell the details of the murder, how the carriage was blown up, and so on. "I bought a crepe for a sleeve," he said, showing the purchased crepe. I remember I was surprised that he wanted to wear mourning for the king, whom he always scolded. And then here's what I thought. This comrade of my father was a very stingy man, and I thought: "Well, if he went bankrupt, bought crepe, then he tells the truth." I did not sleep all night. I thought that now that the king was killed, everything would go differently, the people would get their freedom. However, it didn't work out that way." But in the next edition of My Life, published in 1930, it was already directly stated: "... On this day, March 1, my father's comrades in the corps came to our house to visit and congratulate Konstantin Ignatievich." Soviet historians later generally began to say that Nadezhda's father

Zhdy Konstantinovna found out about the impending assassination of the tsar on the eve of the assassination attempt, that is, it turns out that he was almost a secret accomplice of Zhelyabov and Perovskaya. This nonsense is not worth refuting. And in 1938 Krupskaya bluntly stated: "My father was a revolutionary." True, she immediately explained what exactly this was expressed in: "He wanted me to be friends with guys of other nationalities."

Nadya really made friends with boys and girls from Polish, Jewish, even Tatar families. After the pack

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As a result of ruinous legal expenses, the Krupski family moved to Warsaw. As Nadezhda Konstantinov recalled: "I learned early to hate national oppression, I realized early that Jews, Poles and other nationalities are no worse than Russians ... I early understood what autocracy of tsarist officials is, what arbitrariness is." She described her life in the Polish capital as follows: "...I played in the yard with Polish, Jewish, Tatar guys. We played very friendly, we had a lot of fun, we treated each other with what we could. Tatar guys took me to a tent in the yard where their parents lived - they worked at a construction site - and treated me to horsemeat, which seemed very tasty to me. The Jewish boy was three years older than me, he treated me very well, I loved him very much, he treated me to bread with lard. The Polish guys treated me to "tastechki" - cakes. I don't remember what I treated them to, but we lived very amicably and cheerfully ... When I grew older and heard how Jewish children were offended, they were not allowed to go to public gardens, they were not allowed to study, how Poles were oppressed, I was very resented."

Having lost his place in the civil service, my father was forced to be hired by private factories and factories as a manager or auditor. He also worked as an insurance agent, conducted various court cases on behalf of the plaintiffs ... The Krupsky family was often forced to move from city to city - to where Konstantin Ignatievich managed to find work. When Nadia was five years old and her father was still unsuccessfully looking for a place, the landowner Rusanova remembered her former governess and invited her and her daughter to rest in the summer on the estate. By that time, the girl had already heard from her father and mother, "what a beast it was" - the landowners. I am afraid that in this case Elizaveta Vasilievna and Konstantin Ignatievich were guided not so much by their own experience as by repeating the opinion that had developed among the democratic intelligentsia - the so-called "sixties". They were dominated by the stereotype of a tyrant

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serf-owner who tortured the peasants. The landowner Rusanova was certainly not like that, and, as we see, in a difficult moment

helped her former governess on her own initiative. However, Nadia arrived in Rusanovo with an already established prejudice against all the landowners in the world. She carried herself in an emphatically defiant manner. "I ... scandalized, I didn't want to say hello, or say goodbye, or thank you for dinner, so my mother was glad, welcome when my father came for us and we left ..." Nadia admitted half a century later. I think that Elizabeth Vasilievna was ashamed of her daughter. On the other hand, Nadezhda Konstantinovna, in *My Life*, spoke about this episode without a trace of embarrassment, and set her own behavior as an example to the younger generation - as an example of truly revolutionary morality.

On the way back, an incident occurred that deeply sank into the soul of a five-year-old girl. This is what Krupskaya remembered: "... When we were driving from Rusanov in a wagon (it was in winter) (it turns out that mother and daughter Krupsky enjoyed the hospitality of a good landowner for half a year! - B. S.), we were almost killed by dear peasants. Mistaking him for landowners, they beat the driver and promised to lower him into the hole (presumably, they thought to arrange ice bathing only for the driver, and not for the passengers. - B.S.). My father did not blame the peasants, and later, in a conversation with his mother, he spoke of the peasants' centuries-old hatred of the landowners, that the landowners deserved this hatred. In Rusanovo, I managed to make friends with the village children and women who caressed me, I was on the side of the peasants. This is how the incident is described in *My Life*. Later, in one of the articles, Nadezhda Konstantinovna did not give a more detailed version of the incident, which almost ended in tragedy: "We were driving through the village, a peasant with firewood was driving towards and carrying an empty coffin. We rode in a trio. And now the troika could not turn, and the coachman touched this coffin sideways. I remember how the peasant beat the coachman bloody and said: "You are the master's coachman, the master's serf. You and the bar you are carrying must be drowned in the hole."

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I didn't understand what was the matter, but I remember my father's words: "Here it is, the centuries-old hatred of the peasants for the landlords."

This example clearly shows how propagandistic myths are born. In the novella *My Life* intended primarily for children, Krupskaya used a particular case of which she was an eyewitness for a general apology for the class hatred of the peasants for the landowners. As a result, one peasant turned into a group of peasants who, for no reason at all, attacked the passers-by just because they looked like a "bar". And in fact, no one was going to drown the unfortunate coachman and his passengers in the hole. It was just that the owner of the coffin, who was in earnest, in his hearts, brought down on the head of the enemy all conceivable and inconceivable curses. With the same success, he could have exclaimed: "May you all burn!" Thank the bot, at that moment it was not possible to put into practice any of these wishes-curses. But after some forty-something years, thanks to the revolution, the creator of which was

famous husband of Nadezhda Konstantinovna, these threats materialized in the terrible Russian reality. And the "red rooster" was allowed to the landowners, and they drank in the ice-holes together with their wives, children and a few faithful servants, and such a "red terror" was introduced in the country that the autocracy never dreamed of. And from that terror, the peasants suffered only a little less than the nobles.

In fact, the incident with the coachman could rather be explained by reasons not class, but everyday and psychological. Since the peasant was carrying an empty coffin, it can be assumed that he was to bury someone close to him (son? wife? mother). Who was to blame for the collision, the driver or the peasant, we, of course, will never know. Maybe it wasn't the coachman's fault. But the peasant, who was clearly in frustrated feelings, poured out on the slow driver all the accumulated anger, resentment for life, and at the same time, out of habit, sealed the "masters" - because they live well on peasant sweat and tears.

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From an early age, Nadya felt no less hatred than for the landowners for the bourgeoisie. She confessed in "My Life": "Also early (I was then 6 years old) I learned not to hate the manufacturers. My father served as an auditor in Uglich at the Howard factory and often talked about all the outrages that were done there, about the hard life of the workers, etc. ... Therefore, I played with the guys of the workers, and we got along from around the corner to throw a lump snow on a manager who was passing by. It seems that neither then, nor years later, Krupskaya did not even think: in what, in fact, the manager who became the victim of childish pranks differed from her father? Yes, and the manufacturers were different. By the way, Konstantin Ignatievich was engaged in the stationery factory in Uglich on behalf of its owners, the Vargunin brothers. Even Soviet historians assure that they were cultured people, not alien to liberal views. And with the eldest of the brothers, Konstantin Alexandrovich, Krupsky was introduced by one of his comrades-populists. It is unlikely that manufacturers with such a worldview could themselves create any outrages on the workers and thoughtlessly tear three skins from them. Another thing is that the Uglich factory was not run by the Vargunins themselves, but by their English companion Howard. He regarded Russia only as a place for quick profit and exploited the workers beyond measure. And in the report, Konstantin Ignatievich painted an unsightly picture. Here are financial abuses, and Howard's formal mockery of workers and workers (the latter often became objects of sexual harassment by a voluptuous manager).

Nothing bad could be said about Krupsky's other employers, the Kosyakovsky landowners. Konstantin Ignatievich had to put in order the stationery factory that belonged to them and at the same time got the opportunity to send his wife and daughter to the Kosyakovsky estate for the summer.

in the Pskov province. At first, Nadia had to go there alone. She remembered this trip very well: "I don't

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she was a little embarrassed by strangers, but riding horses was wonderful; rode through the forest and fields; Mortels were already blooming on the hillocks, and there was a smell of earth and greenery. The first night I was put to sleep on some chic bed in a lordly chic room. It was stuffy and hot. I went to the window, opened it. The smell of lilac poured into the room; flooding, the nightingale clicked. I stood at the window for a long time. The next morning I got up early and went out into the garden, which sloped down to the river. In the garden I met a young girl of about eighteen, in a simple cotton dress, with a low forehead and dark curly hair. She spoke to me. It was... the local teacher Alexandra Timofeevna, or, as her name was, Timo fake. Ten minutes later, I already felt quite simply with Timo a fake, just like with a friend, and chatted with her about all my impressions. After this meeting, a ten-year-old girl decided to become a teacher. And in her life it turned out that she had two main things to do - the revolution and pedagogy. In the image of Alexandra Timofeevna Yavorskaya, both that and that were combined. Krupskaya recalled: "... I ran with my tail after a young teacher, a Narodnaya Volya, in love with her school. She treated the village children as equals, spoke to them seriously about everything ... I made friends with the guys, but Timofeyka ... did not look for souls. In winter, sitting in the classroom, I kept drawing houses with the sign "School" and thinking about how I would be a rural teacher ... In winter, I found out that Timo fake was arrested. She spent two years in the Pskov prison, in a cell without a window. Could I then not sympathize with the revolutionaries?

Timofeyka also became friends with Nadia's father. She told him: "I'm worried about how Nadia directly swallows books, this would not lead to superficiality." Konstantin Ignatievich reassured: "My daughter does not read bad books. It is impossible to force children to read this particular book and not another one. Believe me, the child will feel the book. A good book will be remembered, but a bad one will be forgotten. Ironically, Krupskaya, being the Deputy People's Commissar of Education, did a lot to ensure that children

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read some "ideological" books and in no case read other, "harmful" ones. In the 1920s, even Pushkin disappeared from school libraries.

Nadia went to her first school in Kyiv. The school building was located in the city center, on Khreshchatyk. The girl was not carried away for classes. Boredom was caused by the lessons of the Law of God and French verses, which forced me to recite by heart. When the Krupskys lived in Kyiv, the Russian-Turkish war broke out. On Nadya, this event

to great impression. "I saw enough of the patriotic frenzy, I heard a lot about the atrocities of the Turks, but I saw wounded prisoners, played with a captured Turkish child and found that war is self-harmful. Then my father took me to an exhibition of paintings by Vereshchagin, where it was depicted as staff members, led by some grand duke, in white tunics, from a safe place they looked through binoculars at how soldiers died in battle with the enemy. And although at that time I did not yet know how to realize, but then, as an adult, I was wholeheartedly with the army, which refused to continue the imperialist war.

The fact that even in childhood the girl received a powerful charge of pacifism, realized the inhumanity of war, can only be welcomed. Later, however, pacifism was sacrificed for revolutionary expediency. Krupskaya, like all Bolsheviks, rejected and condemned their imperialist war. On the other hand, they accepted the Civil War as a measure necessary to suppress the resistance of the "exploiters". And Nadezhda Konstantinovna did not condemn the extrajudicial execution of the tsar, most of the grand dukes and princesses, their wives and children, sanctioned by Lenin.

The appeal of Konstantin Ignatievich against the verdict of the Warsaw court traveled through the courts for several years. To get things moving, someone's influential patronage was required. The older brother Alexander Ignatievich helped here, unlike the younger one, after graduating from the academy, he made a successful career. He rose to the rank of action

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a senior state adviser - a civil general and became the prosecutor of the Novgorod province. Thanks to the efforts of his brother, the case of the collegiate assessor Krupsky was finally scheduled for a hearing in the Senate on April 28, 1880. Six months earlier, Konstantin Ignatievich ruled his wife and daughter in St. Petersburg: Nadya should have entered the gymnasium. Since the father still did not have the right to reside in the capital, in the column who pays for education, the girl was forced to write: "Mother, E.V. Krupskaya. Her classmates and teachers looked askance at her, suspecting that she was illegitimate.

The Senate fully acquitted Konstantin Ignatievich. In vain did the prosecutor try to assert that Krupsky carried out the ill-fated census for a bribe from the Polish landowners. Senator Count Fyodor Pavlovich Tizen Tauzen greatly helped the outcome of the case, which was favorable for Konstantin Ignatievich. He managed to persuade his colleagues to take a positive decision. There is a legend in the Krupsky family that the complacency of the count was explained by the fact that on the eve of his racehorse took the first prize, and Tiesen Gausen arrived at the meeting after the banquet, in a very cheerful mood. I think that what happened can rather be explained by acquaintance with the senator Alexander Ignatievich.

The Senate resolution stated: "Recognizing the defendant as innocent of abuse of power, the Governing Senate, on the basis of paragraph 1 of Article 771 of the Charter of the Criminal Court, determines: to consider the former head of the Groetsky district, collegiate assessor Krupsky, acquitted by the court and cancel the sentence of the Warsaw Court of Justice ". Now Konstantin Ignatievich was finally able to settle in St. Petersburg. However, his health was already fundamentally undermined by rapidly progressing pulmonary tuberculosis. And the collegiate assessor Krupsky could not immediately return to public service: in St. Petersburg it was difficult to find a place for a judicial official.

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Already after the acquittal, he managed to put things in order at the Kosyakovsky stationery factory in the Pskov province (where Nadya met Timofeika). My brother helped me get a job. He supported the Krupskikhs financially as well. Nadya was transferred from the state gymnasium, where she did not like the teachers and where the shy girl, by her own admission, "was very bored and lonely," to the private Obolenskaya gymnasium. Nadia liked this gymnasium, and she spoke warmly about the teachers there all her life. With the assistance of Alexander Ignatievich, the family of Konstantin Ignatievich moved into a more spacious apartment. But it didn't take long to live there. February 25, 1883 Konstantin Ignatyevich died. "It will be hard for you, my dears," were his last words to his wife and daughter. They buried my father in the cemetery of the Novodevichy Convent near the Moscow Gate. The funeral was paid for by Alexander Ignatievich, who survived his brother by only a few months. And consumption killed him.

The father's pension was small. Elizaveta Vasilievna and Nadia barely made ends meet. I had to rent one of the rooms. Nadia began to earn lessons. The relationship with her mother was not easy at first. Nadezhda Konstantinovna recalled: "Mom was a very good, lively person, but she looked at me like a child. I fought very hard for my independence. Only later, when relations of equality were established among us, did we begin to live very amicably.

Nadia passed her final exams excellently. As noted in the decision of the pedagogical council: "Nadezhda Krupskaya in the final tests showed excellent success in all subjects. On average, she has 5. Of the optional subjects, she studied French with excellent success. She was awarded a gold medal and stayed at the gymnasium to complete the 8th additional class, the so-called "pedagogical" one. Per

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her dream came true: in 1887, Nadezhda received a diploma as a home teacher with a specialization in Russian language and mathematics. She managed to get a place at the Pospelova school, where girls learned to sew. In addition, in the evenings Krupskaya studied with schoolgirls from her former gymnasium. As a teacher, she was appreciated. Even you gave me a certificate, which stated: "The success of her students testifies to her outstanding pedagogical abilities, the thoroughness of her knowledge and her extremely conscientious attitude to work."

But Nadia was not popular with the stronger sex. Her gymnasium friend, the beautiful Ariad on Tyrkova, testified: "I already had a girl's life. I was looked after. They wrote me poetry. Walking down the street with me, Nadia sometimes heard enthusiastic remarks about me from unfamiliar youth. They didn't surprise me or offend me. It was my business to pass by with such an independent, impenetrable air, as if I did not hear anything... Nadia was amused by this. She was much taller than me. Tilting her head a little to one side, she looked at me from above, and her thick lips twitched with a smile, as if it gave her great pleasure that a passing junker, looking into my eyes, stopped and exclaimed: "That's how the eyes ... Blacker than night, clearer than day ..."

Nadia did not know these temptations. In her girlish life there was no love game, there were no cross hints, glances, smiles, and even more so there was no kissing temptation. Nadya didn't skate, didn't dance, didn't ride a boat, she only talked to her school friends and old acquaintances of her mother. I did not meet any guests at the Krupskys'.

Nadezhda compensated for the lack of personal life by her desire for knowledge and attention to public life. During these years, she continued to read a lot, and books by no means for women, like the History of Aeronautics or the Dutch Revolution. Visited acquaintances of the father, old on

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rodovoltsev. Once Nadya asked one of them, who spent many years in prison, the age-old Russian question: what to do? Having learned how much a pound is worth, the former prison inmate began to develop the theory of "small deeds" in front of the girl. This meant taking care of the education of the people by teaching in schools, taking care of their health by working as doctors and nurses in zemstvo hospitals. That's just the autocracy is not worth trying to overthrow. Later, Krupskaya recalled: "There was anguish from his advice and from all these former people; they were good people, but with a hollow soul. I was a teenager, but I saw it very well." The impatience of youth led yesterday's schoolgirl to the Marxists, who firmly knew how to give the people a better lot. In the autumn of 1889, Nadya entered the

opened in St. Petersburg Bestuzhev higher courses for women, to the mathematical department. But her love for the Russian language also remained: Krupskaya attends lectures at the Faculty of Philology. On the courses, she met her old friend Olga Witmer. She brought Nadezhda into the circle of engineering students Mikhail Ivanovich Brusnev, one of the first Russian Marxists. Here Krupskaya got acquainted with Marx's Capital, a handwritten copy of Engels's The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. And in order to overcome "Anti-Dühring" by the same author, Nadya studied German on her own. The students sought to spread Marxism among the workers. On the recommendation of Nikolai Aleksandrovich Vargunin, in whose factory her father once worked, Krupskaya got a job as a teacher at the Smolensk evening working school set up by the manufacturer behind the Nevsky Zastava. Classes were held three times a week. Nadezh conducted propaganda at geography lessons. She spoke about the situation of workers in different countries, about their struggle for their rights. Here, a young teacher introduced her adult students to the basics of atheism, examples from astronomy, and, using Darwin's evolutionary theory, proved that

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There is no god. She herself had long ago rejected God, although in childhood faith was not alien to her. When Nadya was eight years old, a Polish nurse often took her to church. And before going to bed, the girl prayed, kneeling by the bed. Once, Konstantin Ignatievich looked into his daughter's room, said a little mockingly: "Go to bed, pilgrimage, stop apologizing for sins." These words of her beloved father shocked Nadya. So he doesn't believe in God. So there is no God. And very soon she became a convinced atheist. And now, in relation to her students, Krupskaya acted in the same role as a preacher of unbelief. And she has achieved great success in this field. The workers loved their teachers very much and treated them like family. Nadezhda Konstantinovna testified: "The gloomy watchman of the Gromov forest warehouses with a beaming face reported to the teacher that his son was born; the consumptive textile worker wished her a daring groom for having learned to read and write (the groom really turned out to be a daring one, and what a watchman he looked into the water! - B.S.); The sectarian worker, who had been searching for God all his life, wrote with satisfaction that he only learned from Rudakov (another student of the school) passionately that there was no God at all, and it became so easy, because there is nothing worse than being a servant of God - here you go nowhere, it's easier to be a human slave - here a struggle is possible; a tobacconist who got drunk every Sunday until he lost his human appearance, so thoroughly saturated with the smell of tobacco that when you leaned over his notebook, your head was spinning, he wrote in scribbles, skipping vowels - that they had found a three-year-old girl on the street, and she lives with them in an artel, it is necessary to give it to the police, but it's a pity; a one-legged soldier came and told me that Mikhail, who had been studying with you last year, had stumbled over his work, died, and, dying, remembered you,

Lel bowed and ordered to live long; a textile worker, who supported the tsar and the priests with a mountain, warned that "beware of the black one, otherwise he keeps hanging around on Gorokhovaya Street" (the Security Department was located on Gorokhovaya Street

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leniya. - B. S.); the elderly worker explained that there was no way he could leave the church elders, "because the priests are hurting the people and they need to be brought out into the open, but he is not even committed to the church at all and understands well about the phases of development," etc. it. P."

Some quarter of a century passed, and the place of God in the minds of the obscure sectarian worker and millions of other workers and peasants was completely occupied by Krupskaya's "daring fiancé". Very soon, they felt in their own skin that being a slave of the Soviet regime is much worse than remaining just a servant of God, and that the communists "shoe the people" cleaner than the priests, who, we admit, were also far from always a model of morality and sometimes got drunk "to the point of loss." human appearance", no worse than the tobacco worker Krupskaya remembers. Orthodoxy, which had been bureaucratized even under Peter, and received as a pastor a kind of "ministry for religious affairs" - the Holy Synod, discredited itself. The people needed a new faith. The communists gave him such faith. And in the host of saints of this civic religion, Nadezhda Konstantinovna was destined for her place - the only friend of God the Leader and his widow without consolation, the main custodian of the memory of "the most humane of people."

Krupskaya continued to visit Brusnev's circle, participated in the first May Day organized by him in Russia on May 1, 1891. However, the following year, Mikhail Ivanovich was arrested and received six years in prison. But the circle did not fall apart. It continued to recruit workers - students of the Smolensk school. Krupskaya warmly recalled her wards: "The students were selected, and we talked about many things with them. Then everyone was arrested at different times, everyone joined the movement.

Meanwhile, the one with whom Nadia was destined to unite her life forever arrived in Petersburg. Vladimir Ulyanov was a year younger than the 24-year-old Krupskaya, but among the friends of the Marxists he enjoyed considerable prestige as a great

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a connoisseur of Marx's "holy scripture" and therefore was awarded the respectful nickname "Sgarik". Nadezhda Konstantinov did not talk about meeting her future husband like this: "Vladimir Ilyich arrived in St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1893, but I did not get to know him right away. I heard from my comrades that some very knowledgeable Marxist had come from the Volga...

I wanted to get to know this newcomer better, to get to know his views better.

I saw Vladimir Ilyich only at Maslenitsa (in February 1894. - B.S.). On Okhta, the engineer Klasson, one of the prominent St. Petersburg Marxists, with whom I had been in a Marxist circle for two years before, decided to arrange a meeting of some St. Petersburg Marxists with a visiting Volzhan. For the sake of conspiracy, pancakes were arranged ... Someone said that work in the literacy committee is very important. Vladimir Ilyich laughed, and his laughter sounded somehow evil and dry - I never heard such a laugh from him afterwards: "Well, whoever wants to save the fatherland in the literacy committee, well, we don't interfere" ... Vladimir Ilyich's malicious remark was understandable. He came to agree on how to go together in the struggle, and in response he heard a call to distribute brochures of the literacy committee.

Here is such an acquaintance on "secret pancakes". And the laughter of a loved one was remembered by Nadia not in connection with some romantic conversation, so natural for a first love, but because of a sharp controversy: which way to go. But a close acquaintance was yet to come.

As it seems, for Nadia it was the first novel. Whether this is due to a not too successful appearance, or an ardent enthusiasm for the revolution, which left no room for anything else, or some underdevelopment of feelings, we do not know. But Volodya had already had at least one crush before Krupskaya. He courted and even wooed her friend Apollinaria Yakubova, who was also present at the memorial Shrovetide. But Apollinaria to Vladimir politely but firmly

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to refused. Subsequently, she found herself among the Mensheviks, and after 1917 she emigrated. Who knows, if Yakubov had accepted Ulyanov's proposal, the future leader of the October Revolution would have had to endure the spiritual drama of irreconcilable political differences and a break with his wife. There is no doubt that Lenin could only marry a like-minded woman. Vladimir Ilyich also wooed Apollinaria because at that time she was just as much a Marxist as he was. If the beloved woman were indifferent to politics, or, moreover, if she adhered to views radically different from Lenin's, no feeling, I am sure, would force the leader of the Bolsheviks to unite with her.

Later, it became clear to Nadia why Volodya was so harsh in the argument. She cites his story about the reaction in Simbirsk to the arrest of Alexander's older brother for plotting regicide: "All the acquaintances recoiled from the Ulyanov family, even the old teacher, who used to come constantly in the evenings to play chess mats, stopped visiting ... Vladimir Ilyich's mother needs to I had to ride horses to Syzran in order to get to St. Petersburg, where my son was sitting. Vladimir Ilyich was sent to look for fellow travelers - no one

wanted to go with the mother of the arrested person. The execution of his beloved brother Sasha and the ostracism to which the Ulyanov family was subjected shocked Vladimir for the rest of his life, made him a convinced and implacable fighter against the monarchy. Lenin did not agree to any compromises here.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna recalled: "Vladimir Ilyich loved his brother very much. They had many common tastes, both had a need to be alone for a long time so that they could concentrate. They usually lived together, at one time in a special wing, and when one of the numerous young people - cousins or sisters - came to them, the boys had a favorite phrase: "Be happy with your absence" ... The fate of the brother sharpened the work of his thought, developed in him an extraordinary sobriety, the ability to face the truth, not to let himself be

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to captivate with a phrase, an illusion, developed in him the greatest honesty in approaching all questions.

As for honesty, a loving wife, perhaps, confused the definitions a little. Lenin, when it was necessary for the cause, more than once deceived his party comrades, and the population of Russia, and the world community. It was not for nothing that the people used to call him Lukich by the well-aimed nickname. What Krupskaya called "the greatest honesty" rather deserves another definition - cynicism.

Surprisingly, for the time being, the authorities turned a blind eye to the almost open propaganda at the Sunday evening school. Nadezhda Konstantinovna admitted: "It was possible to talk at school, in fact, about everything, despite the fact that in a rare class there was no spy; it was only necessary not to use the terrible words "tsar", "strike", etc., then it was possible to deal with the most basic questions. And officially it was forbidden to talk about anything: once they closed the so-called repetition group because, as the inspector who came to visit, they taught decimal fractions there, it was allowed to teach only four rules of arithmetic according to the program. The authorities protected the workers from decimal fractions, but practically did not prevent the penetration of Marxism into the working environment. After 1917, Lenin and Krupskaya took into account the unsuccessful experience of the tsarist government, and they did not allow any liberties in terms of "ideological consistency" in teaching in the Soviet school.

The acquaintance of Krupskaya and Ulyanov developed. Let's give the floor to Nadezhda Konstantinovna: "I lived on Staro-Nevisky, and Vladimir Ilyich on Sundays, returning from classes in the circle, usually came to me, and we began endless conversations. At that time I was in love with the school (apparently I was not in love with Ilyich yet. - B.S.), and I could not be fed with bread, just to let me talk about school, about students, about factories and plants .. Vladimir Ilyich

was interested in every little thing that painted the life of workers,

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by individual lines he tried to embrace the life of the workers as a whole, to find something to grab hold of in order to better approach the worker with revolutionary propaganda. It is not known whether only young people talked about schools and propaganda among themselves. Apparently, it was no coincidence that the "Volga Marxist" regularly visited Krupskaya.

Meanwhile, the activities of the circles finally came to the attention of the police. Ulyanov taught his comrades conspiracies: how to get away from surveillance using the passageways, how to write between the lines in books with invisible chemical ink, invented nicknames for everyone. This game fascinated him. It was as if there was no surveillance for Krupskaya. Therefore, Ulyanov proposed to appoint ss "heiress" - to transfer the archive of the organization for safekeeping. Nadezhda Konstantinovna spoke about this with irony: "On the first day of Easter, 5-6 of us went to 'celebrate Easter' in Tsarskoye Selo to one of the members of our group... We traveled on the train like strangers. We spent almost a whole day discussing what ties should be preserved. Vladimir Ilyich taught cipher. Almost half the books were encrypted. Alas, later I could not make out this first collective encryption. One consolation was that by the time it had to be deciphered, the vast majority of the "connections" had already failed.

No tricks helped. In December 1895, most of the members of the Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, which had just been created by Vladimir Ulyanov and Yuli Martov, were arrested. Krupskaya was lucky enough to remain free. She handed over books and food parcels to Vladimir Ilyich in prison. In books, unnoticed by the uninitiated, she pricked the necessary letters or wrote letters between the lines that were not visible to the naked eye with milk. These were not declarations of love: Nadezhda Konstantinovna reported on what the surviving members of the "Union" were doing, what was known about other arrested people. Ilyich, in turn, in response messages gave instructions about other prisoners: "to such and such a

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who does not go, you need to find him a "bride", give him a "bride" on a date through relatives, so that he can look for letters in such and such a book of the prison library on such and such a page to get warm boots to such and such ... "Perhaps, in At that moment, he already considered Nadya as his real fiancée. Once he even asked her and Apollinaria Yakubova to come to that section of Shpapernaya Street that was visible from the windows of the prison castle during an hour of a prison walk. Ulyanov really wanted to see them. Apollinaria did not come, apparently, so as not to wake the rejected bridegroom in vain

hope. And Nadia came. But, as luck would have it, for some reason at that time the prisoners were not taken out for a walk.

On August 12, 1896, Krupskaya was also arrested. During interrogations, she denied everything, the police had no serious evidence, and a month later Nadezhda Konstantinovna was released. However, soon one of the students of the Smolensk school testified that Krupskaya was one of the organizers of illegal circles, and on October 28 she was again arrested.

Solitary confinement has a depressing effect on Nadezhda. And prison food is clearly not from a restaurant. Krupskaya's stomach begins to hurt. Mother writes petition after petition for Nadia to be released pending trial. He beats the pity of the officials of the police department: "My daughter, in general, is in poor health, very nervous, suffers from catarrh of the stomach and anemia from childhood. At present, the nervous breakdown, as well as the general poor state of health, as I could see for myself, have become so aggravated that they inspire the most serious fears. I am sure that every doctor who would be entrusted with the study of the health of my daughter would recognize that further imprisonment threatens her with the most difficult consequences, and for me the possibility of losing my only daughter. On March 31, 1897, Nadezhda Konstantinovna was examined by a prison doctor. He admitted that the prisoner "has lost weight, weakened as a result of indigestion, cannot engage in mental work due to nervous exhaustion.

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niya". But at that time they were not released on bail. Further, however, it happened according to the saying: there would be no happiness, but misfortune helped. Not even misfortune, tragedy. Narodovolka Maria Vetrova set herself on fire in the Peter and Paul Fortress. Fearing that, protesting against the prison regime, other female political prisoners would follow her example, the authorities released several revolutionaries who were under investigation, including Krupskaya. Of the members of the Union of Struggle, almost no one was left at that time. Nadezhda Konstantinovna was sentenced to a three-year exile in the Ufa province. Ulyanov, a few months earlier, was exiled to the village of Shushenskoye, Minusinsk district, Yenisei province. Krupskaya asked to see Ilyich, declaring that she was his fiancée. Elizaveta Vasilievna went with her daughter.

I note that not all Ulyanovs were delighted with the appearance of the bride. For example, the sister of Vladimir Ilyich Anna Ilyinichna. In February 1898, Nadezhda Konstantinovna, with some resentment, wrote to another sister of her fiancé, Maria Ilyinichna: "Kiss A.I. and tell her that she is not doing well, that she recommends me everywhere: In the boat, she wrote about my herring look, Bun (to Zinaida Pavlovna Nevzorova, wife of Gleb Maximilianovich Krzhizhanovsky, Vladimir Ilyich's comrade-in-arms in the Union of Struggle, and friend of Nadezhda Konstantinovna. - B.S.) to my

slyness complained...' By the 'herring look' it meant, first of all, that Krupskaya's eyes were bulging like a fish's, one of the signs of later diagnosed Graves' disease. Lenin treated this feature of the appearance of his future wife with slight irony, assigning to Krupskaya the appropriate party nicknames: Fish and Lamprey.

On May 7, 1898, Nadezhda Konstantinovna was already in Shushenskoye. Here is what she recalled: "We arrived at dusk; Vladimir Ilyich was out hunting. We unloaded, we were taken to the hut. In Siberia - in the Minusinsk district - kre

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The Stians live very cleanly, the floors are covered with self-woven carpets, the walls are cleanly whitewashed and decorated with fir. Although Vladimir Ilyich's room was small, it was also clean. The owners gave up the rest of the hut to my mother and me. All the owners and neighbors crowded into the hut and diligently looked at us and asked questions. Finally, Vladimir Ilyich returned from hunting. He was surprised that there was light in his room. The owner said that it was Oskar Aleksandrovich (an exiled St. Petersburg worker) who had come drunk and scattered all his books. Ilyich quickly ran up to the porch. Then I came out of the hut to meet him. We talked for a long time that night."

Two months later, on July 10, he and Vladimir Ilyich got married in a local church. Of course, the revolutionaries did not attach any importance to the sacrament of marriage. They were forced to perform the ceremony by the fact that only church marriage was recognized as legal in Russia. Later, Nadezhda Konstantinovna described the situation as follows: "I was allowed to go to Shushenskoye under the condition of getting married. According to the laws of that time, only wives could accompany their husbands into exile. When I lived in Shushenskoye, two months later an official paper came with a proposal to get married or go to Ufa. We laughed and got married. We were husband and wife and wanted to live and work together." And Ulyanov wrote to his mother on May 10, 1898: "Anyuta (sister. - B.S.) asked me whom I invite to the wedding: I invite all of you, but I don't know if it's better to send an invitation by telegraph !! N.K., as you know, they set a tragicomic condition: if he does not immediately (91!) get married, then go back to Ufa. I am not in the least disposed to admit this, and therefore we are already beginning "troubles" (mainly petitions for the issuance of documents, without which it is impossible to get married) in order to have time to get married before Lent (before petrovkas): it is still permissible to hope that the strict authorities will find it enough to get married "immediately"?

To combine with the beloved with sacred bonds (both, however, despised), and even "immediately

but, as required by the police authorities, Vladimir Ilyich began a journey through the circles of bureaucratic hell, worthy of the pen of Franz Kafka and designed by the same authorities. Ulyanov filed a petition with the Minusinsk district police officer, seeking to send permission ("certificate") for marriage, but received no answer. On June 30, 1898, I had to turn to the police chief of the Yenisei province: "This incomprehensible delay is of particular importance to me in view of the fact that my fiancée is denied an allowance until she marries me ... So Thus, an extremely strange contradiction results: on the one hand, the higher administration will allow the transfer of my fiancée to the village of Shushenskoye by the time of the Thai passage and sets the condition for this permission to her immediate marriage; on the other hand, there is no way I can get the local authorities to issue me a document without which marriage cannot take place; and as a result of everything, my fiancée is guilty, who is left without any means of subsistence. Shortly thereafter, permission was granted. The authorities were convinced that the "administratively exiled" was legally savvy (it was not for nothing that he signed as "assistant to a barrister"), and red tape is useless here. Obviously, the police officer of Minusinsk simply expected to receive a bribe for the required document. But the provincial authorities considered that the reputation of the "higher administration" was endangered, and the matter did not drag out. By the way, I'm afraid that in Soviet times, a person could get a similar ridiculous permit for anything not for two months, but for six months, and a year, and no legal education would help him. Perhaps the tsarist bureaucracy was still more merciful than the communist one. Yes, and the laws Before 1917, although far from the legal ideal, were observed better than after this fateful date for Russia. It was not possible to get gold wedding rings in Shushenskoye, and to go to Minusinsk for them more than once

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corrector decided. It was the same Oscar Aleksandrovich Engberg who really helped out in his drunkenness, but on the other hand he had golden hands. A good-natured Estonian made rings from a copper penny.

Here we will leave Nadezhda Konstantinovna for a while on one of the happiest days of her life. It's time to introduce another heroine of our story.

Inessa Armand was born five years later than Krupskaya and in a completely different country. On May 8, 1874, a joyful event occurred in the family of the famous Parisian opera singer Theodore Stephan (according to the stage - Pesce Erbanville). His wife Natalie gave birth to a girl. An extract from the registry book of the prefecture of the 18th arrondissement of Paris states: "On May 9, 1874, at 3:15 p.m.

zy, a girl born yesterday at 2 pm at 63 Rue de la Chapelle, the daughter of Theodor Stephan, an opera singer, at the age of twenty-four, who recognized the child, and Nathalie Wild, unprofessional, at the age of twenty-four years unmarried. Later, Theodore and Natalie entered into a legal marriage, getting married in the church of St. Mary in the small English town of Newington. Like her mother, the baby was baptized into the Anglican faith under the name Inessa Elizabeth.

It is difficult to determine her nationality. Father is French. Mother, nee Wilde (Wilde), is an Englishwoman by her father, a Frenchwoman by her mother. Sometimes Natalie's father is called a Scot, but there is no reason for this - after all, the Scots are rarely of the Anglican religion. I should note that, unlike the parents of Nadezhda Krupskaya, we know little about Inessa Armand's parents today. At first, French and English became the mother tongue for Inessa Elizabeth, but very soon she found herself in Russia, where Russian actually became her third native language. And instead of Inessa Elizabeth, the daughter of the singer Teodor Stefan turned into Inessa Fedorovna.

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These changes in her fate were preceded by tragic events. Soon the father died, leaving a widow with three children without a livelihood. To earn a living, Natalie became a singing teacher, but the money was still sorely lacking. To lighten the burden that fell on the young widow, Inessa was taken in by her aunt, who taught French and music to wealthy families in Moscow. She brought her niece to Russia, who was not yet three years old. My grandmother also lived with Inessa. They, together with their aunt, sought to raise a noble girl from an orphan, they loved her, but kept her in strictness, trying to protect her from "harmful influences." Even Dostoevsky's novel *Crime and Punishment* was forbidden reading. As Krupskaya later said, Inessa was brought up "in the English spirit, demanding great restraint from her." However, no restrictions prevented the girl from developing her outstanding abilities. She quickly added German to her three native languages, although she did not speak it as fluently as, for example, French. From the age of six, immediately upon arrival in Moscow, Inessa began to learn music. She showed a great inclination for these activities, she played the piano excellently. The young pupil read a lot. And very early I began to feel that this world is unfair. Krupskaya recalled, apparently from the words of Inessa herself: "A five-year-old baby, she stood up for the servants, who are reprimanded for a poorly prepared dinner. For 13 years, she has been baptizing a child with a woman whose landowner of the estate where Inessa lived refused to baptize the child, because it is "illegal". From an early age, Inessa strove to establish justice, to protect those who were offended by the rich, who in one way or another suffered from the authorities.

At the age of 17, Inessa, like Krupskaya's mother, successfully passed the replacement exam for the title of home teacher. And at 19, a happy event happened in her life: Inessa married Alexander Armand, a representative of a dynasty of famous

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Moscow textile manufacturers. The groom was five years older than the bride. After the wedding, a standard entry appeared in the metric book of the Nicholas Church in the village of Pushkin for 1893: "On October 3, the parish priest Ignatius Kazansky, with a clergy, married a hereditary honorary citizen of the Moscow 1st Guild of the merchant's son Alexander Evgeniev Armand, of the Orthodox faith, the first marriage was with French citizen, girl, daughter of the artist Inessa-Elizaveta Feodorovna Stefan, of the Anglican faith.

Inessa and Alexander met and became friends in childhood. Inessa's aunt was a governess in the Armandov family, and her niece lived and was brought up with the master's children. The Armandes were Russified Frenchmen who had long since converted to Orthodoxy. The basis of their empire was wool weaving and dyeing factories in the village (now the city) of Pushkino, located along the Yaroslavl railway at the 28th verst from Moscow. The head of the clan was the manufactory adviser and hereditary honorary citizen Evgeny Evgenievich Armand. He owned the trading house "Eugene Armand with his sons", as well as estates, tenement houses and other real estate. The sons and nephews of Yevgeny Evgenievich ran factories and carried on significant trade both in Russia and abroad. Armands were not alien to liberal moods, they gave a lot of money for charitable purposes. They did not offend their own workers either. The memoirs of Pushkin factory workers about Yevgeny Evgenievich and Alexander Evgenievich have been preserved: "They were in close contact with the workers. They were respected"; "Armand always made concessions." Although the wages of textile workers at the end of the 19th century were about half that of metal workers, the highest paid at that time, they had enough to live on. Although, of course, there was an abyss between the image and standard of living of weavers and dyers and their owners.

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After the wedding, Inessa and Alexander settled in the Moscow estate of Armandov Eldigino. They often visited Pushkino, where there was a luxurious family mansion and receptions were held at which Russian hospitality was combined with French ease. It seemed that the story of poor Cinderella, who found the beautiful prince, was repeated in reality. The young loved each other, were happy, Alexander's capital saved him from worries about bread for

essential. But Inessa did not understand the fairy tale of Charles Perrault in a traditional way.

In the spring of 1899, she wrote to her husband from Switzerland: "My dear, it is very beautiful here, but how glad I will be when I am again in Eldigino! As Jérôme (one of our Swiss acquaintances — B. S.) says, we are never satisfied with what we have, this is an old truth, but it is eternally new... He, by the way, takes Cinderella as an example and proves that, in fact, her godmother acted very carelessly and that, apart from misfortune, nothing can be expected of Cinderella in her new position, but nevertheless he immediately proves that if she would have got into another position, then still, she was unhappy, because she would not have known then that grief and brilliance could hide behind brilliance ... And indeed, there are such restless characters who always want something, are looking for something: yes, the majority is like that. I know, perhaps, only two or at most three who would be satisfied with their position and their life: and even then they, perhaps, are pretending ... "

Inessa was such a restless, searching person. So she was looking for something to do, to help the humiliated and offended, so as not to be weighed down by wealth in a sea of poverty and suffering.

Inessa and Alexander had five children. They doted on them. But already the birth in 1894 of the first-born, named after his father Alexander, turned out to be associated with Inessa with a severe spiritual crisis. Prior to that, she believed in God, joyfully performed all Orthodox rites.

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But Inessa was shocked that a woman is forbidden to go to church in the first six weeks after the birth of a baby. As Krupskaya recalled: "Worried, she began to reconsider her worldview, and the former naive faith went into the past." As we remember, Nadezhda Konstantinovna herself experienced the same shock, which led to a revision of her views on religion, only at a much earlier age.

In Eldigin, Alexander opened a school for peasant children, where Inessa was a teacher and official trustee. She also became an active member of the Society for the Improvement of the Plight of Women, which fought against prostitution. In 1900, she even became the chairman of the Moscow branch of the Sgo, she wanted to issue a printed organ of the society, but she could not get permission from the authorities for this. Krupskaya, in an article dedicated to the memory of her friend, noted the upheaval that had taken place in Inessa's soul: "The dark sides of life hardly touched her personally. But when she encountered them, she resented deeply. She could not, for example, come to terms with the fact that prostitution exists. And Inessa began working in the Moscow society "for the improvement of the lot of women" in the department of wrestling.

be with prostitution. She approached prostitutes not as a benevolent lady, but as a sensitive person who understands someone else's grief and need. This work prompts her to a number of new thoughts for her. She sees the ins and outs of the bourgeois system, she sees the poverty, the helplessness of the working people. On the other hand, she carefully peers into the attitude of bourgeois society towards women, beginning to understand the connection between the bourgeois way of life and prostitution. What should be done? The work of the charitable society to help prostitutes less and less satisfies her. She sees the impossibility of helping the cause through charity. Something else is needed. What? Should I ask Leo Tolstoy? What will he advise? One of the active and sincere workers of the society goes to see Tolstoy. Tolstoy times

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fighths: "Nothing will come of your work, so it was before Moses, so it was after Moses, so it was, so it will be." Inessa sees that it is not in Leo Tolstoy that she will find the answer to the question of how to help the cause - she rereads Tolstoy and finds in his works a reflection of those views on a woman that she struggles with, that she passionately hates. This makes such an impression on her that she stops noticing Tolstoy's strengths.

Inessa finds the answer to the questions that tormented her in socialism. Only the socialists look upon woman as a comrade, only they stand for the real realization of equal rights to the end. Only when socialism is realized will prostitution die out; only when a woman ceases to be a slave. And the socialists march in orderly, organized ranks towards the goal, men and women, hand in hand. That's where the resolution of the question "What to do." And Inessa joins the ranks of the party and actively works in it until her death, she gives her strength, thoughts, health.

Interestingly, Nadezhda Konstantinovna herself also turned to Tolstoy. In 1887, the high school student Krupskaya wrote to Lev Nikolaevich in Yasnaya Polyana that she was ready to take on the work he proposed - correcting translated books published for the people by the book publisher Ivan Sytin. Nadya confessed: "Recently, every day, I feel more and more vividly how much labor, strength, health cost many people that I still used other people's labors. I used them and used them part of the time to acquire knowledge, I thought that I would bring some benefit later with them, but now I see that the knowledge that I have is somehow not needed by anyone, that I cannot apply take them to life, even a little to make amends with them for the evil that I brought with my idleness - and that I don't know how, I don't know what I need to take up for this ... "

Tolstoy sent Alexandre Dumas The Count of Monte Cristo to Nadia. The girl enthusiastically took up correcting the

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translation, i.e., its reconciliation with the French original and the restoration of banknotes and the elimination of distortions. Soon she sent the manuscript to Tolstoy. But even in the process of work, I realized that such "small deeds" cannot eliminate evil from the world. And in the end turned to socialism.

Inessa also rejected Tolstoy's philosophy, but, contrary to what her older friend and rival claimed, she recognized Tolstoy's enormous artistic talent. Many years later, in the autumn of 1916, in a letter to her daughter, also Inessa, she emphasized: "I am not at all a supporter of Tolstoy's philosophy, I will say more - I really dislike his philosophy, because I consider it reactionary, it smells of mold but he is a great artist who saw life with surprising accuracy and was able to expose all its bad and ugly sides, and this always pushes the thought, makes you think about life, look for a way out. Some of his phrases or characteristics are somehow imprinted on a lifetime, sometimes even give it a direction. For example, in War and Peace, there is a line that I first read when I was 15 years old that had a huge impact on me. He says there that Natasha, having married, became a female. I remember that this phrase seemed terribly offensive to me, it hit me like a whip, and it forged in me a firm decision never to become a female, but to remain a man ...

But if Tolstoy sees evil in the present, he does not see at all the ways in which it would be possible to get rid of it. While he describes and criticizes the present, he is excellent, but when he talks about the paths to the future, his conclusions hang in the air and are of little value for life and for directing it to the future. His conclusions all proceed from his general worldview... This worldview has always considered love to be the greatest sin and disgrace that people should avoid in every possible way. This world outlook is rooted in the Middle Ages, and formally, on this outlook, the foundation of women's and men's monasteries is expected. In mo

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stubbornly strove for complete chastity, that is, for the same ideal that Tolstoy also invites to strive for. The ideals he proposed are not particularly new, yet they prevail over all of his later works - both over the Kreutzer Sonata, and over the Resurrection, and over many others ... It seems to me that Tolstoy's point of view one could contrast Hellenism, whose point of view on life and love is completely different. The Greeks bowed before beauty - they looked at love freely, believed that it was beautiful to love, that it was necessary to love, but there was little spirituality in their attitude to beauty and love. They loved the beauty of the body, and they

there was absolutely no need for a "soul". In modern society, the most prominent representatives of this Hellenism are, perhaps, the French. Read, for example, the stories of Maupassant...

What is the relation to a woman and to love of these two worldviews? For example, how did medieval ascetics treat women? We know from history that they considered her to be an instrument of the devil, sent to earth specifically to seduce people from the path of truth. What about the view of love? Asceticism can arise only on the basis of the most crude and primitive attitude towards love. Well, what about Tolstoy? Tolstoy, of course, does not look at a woman as an instrument of the devil - he was still born too late for this, but his view of love is as crude and primitive as that of medieval ascetics, and that is why he protests against the poeticization of love. that he does not understand her poetry... Hellenism is more beautiful (asceticism is some kind of ugliness, after all). Hellenism is associated with the idea of beauty, the sun, nature - it is closely connected with nature and looks like a beautiful flower that bloomed magnificently inside this nature, but which has not yet separated from it, has not yet become human. All this is beautiful, but still quite primitive. The attitude towards women is undoubtedly bad. In a woman they look for neither a friend nor a comrade - in

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they look for beauty, some wit, the ability to sing, play or dance, in a word, pleasure and entertainment. As a wife, she is a slave, locked up in her house, as in a dungeon, and abandoned by her husband. She does not exist for herself, as befits a person, but only in order to give birth to children and manage the economy. Here, not only respect, but also love is usually out of the question - she is simply the eldest slave of her husband. As a hetaera, she is also a slave, who, again, does not exist for herself, but in order to entertain and delight. The attitude of both asceticism and Hellenism towards women and love is still crude and primitive - Hellenism is more beautiful, more natural, and it does not have that specific taste of sin that makes asceticism especially disgusting ...

As life and relations between people became more complicated, what we call culture grew, not only thought, but also feeling was enriched, what was previously only an instinct in animals and primitive people (such as motherhood), turned from instinct to feeling with a thousand tints and nuances—to human feeling, new relations, new feelings, which animals and the savage either do not know at all, or know only in embryo, were finally born between people. Love is also a product of culture and civilization - animals and savages do not know love, they do not know that complex "poeticized", full of the most complex psychological communication (and such love exists and exists).

Inessa wrote these lines when she was already 42 years old and more than a quarter of a century had passed from her first acquaintance with War and Peace. She managed to experience more than one passionate love, raise children, know prisons and the bitterness of emigration. In the letter, Inessa appears before us as a mature woman. But there is hardly any doubt that at the age of 15 her view of love and the place of a woman in the modern world was about the same. Inessa did not want to be either a female, or a slave, or a "vessel of pleasures." Tolstoy believed that

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the destiny of a woman is a family, caring for her husband and children. Inessa dreamed of breaking out of her close family circle. She dreamed of great love - a complex poetic and psychological feeling, equally inherent in two. And it seemed that she found this feeling together with Alexander Armand.

She also wanted to rid the world of corrupt love, where a woman is only a slave, only a beautiful toy. But the Society for the Advancement of Women could only help a very few prostitutes. And only a few of them abandoned the ancient profession. Therefore, Inessa very soon believed that only Marxist socialists were able to solve the problem of prostitution. They will create in the future a society where man and woman will be equal comrades, and "poeticized" love will become the norm, and not a happy rare exception. And before joining the Bolsheviks, Inessa had two more important events ahead of her. She became disillusioned with the activities of the "Society" and met a new love.

In the Armandov family there was a home teacher student Yevgeny Evgenievich Kammer, who taught the wisdom of science to the youngest of the brothers, Boris. In 1897, Kammer was arrested for possession of illegal literature and exiled to Yelets Uyezd. On Inessa, the first acquaintance with the "real revolutionary" made a strong impression. Later, she confessed: "I somehow love him (Kammer. - B.S.) very much, and I feel terribly sorry for him. I would like to be able to improve his situation." But several more years passed before establishing contact with the revolutionary organizations. Only in 1902 did Inessa come into contact with several social democrats and socialist revolutionaries. Then she fell in love with her husband's younger brother, Vladimir, and he reciprocated her. Inessa told Alexander everything, asking him to understand and forgive. He understood and forgave, retaining warm feelings for his ex-wife and brother, supporting them financially and caring

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about children. Inessa and Alexander remained close friends. Congratulating Inessa on the new year 1904, Alexander wrote:

"It was good for me with you, my friend, and so I now appreciate and love your friendship. After all, is it possible to love friendship? It seems to me that this is an absolutely correct and clear expression. They did not file for divorce. There was no need for this. In addition, the dissolution of a church marriage was a difficult matter and associated with a number of humiliating procedures.

In 1903, Inessa and Vladimir left for Switzerland. Here Inessa for the first time seriously took up revolutionary work. In her autobiography, she wrote: "In 1903 she came across the border, to Switzerland, and after a short hesitation between the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Social-Democrats (on the question of the agrarian program) under the influence of Ilyin's book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, which she first became acquainted with frontier, I become a Bolshevik." As you know, Vladimir Ulyanov was hiding under the pseudonym "Ilyin". This is how Inessa met in absentia with the hero of the main novel of her life, with the one for whom she had that deeply poetic and psychological feeling, which is called true love and which happens only once in a lifetime.

Now is the time to return to Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna at Shushenskoye, where they are on their honeymoon. Was their marriage a kind of revolutionary "marriage of convenience"? Was Nadezhda Konstantinovna from the category of those fictitious "brides" who proposed to allocate members of the "Union of Struggle" so that there would be someone to help them in prison and exile? Or do we really have a romantic union of two people who are passionately in love with each other, but no less passionately in love with the revolution? Those who can't stand Lenin support rumors that the leader of the greatest (whatever one's attitude to it) revolution of the 20th century was a banal impotent and, therefore, had no sexual relations with either his wife or anyone else. and could not have.

› that Lenin himself

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Perhaps the only argument here is the absence of children from Lenin and Krupskaya. These rumors seem to be fairly easy to disprove. Here, for example, are Krupskaya's reminiscences of life in Shushenskoye: "In the evenings, Ilyich and I could not sleep at all, we dreamed of powerful workers' demonstrations in which we would one day take part." And then: "We were newlyweds, and this exile brightened up. The fact that I do not write about this in my memoirs does not mean at all that there was neither poetry nor young passion in our life. We could not stand philistinism, and there was no philistine in our life. Ilyich and I met already as established revolutionary Marxists - this left a stamp on our joint life and work. At that time, of course, to write in detail in memoirs about "young passion", and even more so in relation to the leader of the world proletariat, seemed

impossible. But Krupskaya's deaf confession proves that it was not only "dreams of powerful workers' demonstrations" that she and Lenin indulged in Shushenskoye. Love and revolution for them merged into one.

There is also later evidence that Nadezhda Konstantinovna had a serious rival when they were abroad and even before Inessa Armand appeared on the Leninist horizon. In 1935, a certain Tikhomirnov, who was sent by the Central Committee to France to search for and buy Lenin's letters and manuscripts, met with the former Bolshevik G.A. Aleksinsky. Later he reported: "At the first meeting, he showed me very carefully the letters, apparently written by Lenin. The handwriting, as far as I could see (Aleksinsky did not let me read them), is absolutely similar to Lenin's. These letters, as Aleksinsky says, were written by Lenin to a certain writer who was in close relations with him, but was not a member of the party. This person does not want to give these letters to us as long as Nadezhda Konstantinovna is alive. This woman is quite well off, since she received funds from us from Moscow and they passed either through

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Menzhinsky, or through Dzerzhinsky, and now he regularly receives the corresponding amount from a bank deposit. We do not know how this story ended, whether Moscow succeeded in buying Lenin's letters from the unknown French writer. But the very fact that she was paid for her silence by the department of Dzerzhinsky and Menzhinsky, the all-powerful Cheka-GPU, is indicative. There can be no doubt that the Menshevik Nikolai Vladislavovich Valentinov wrote about the same story in his book Meetings with Lenin: ". From this point of view, the book "Gez atoris seesgees 4e Gepupe" ("Lenin's Love Secrets"), which appeared in the edition of Vapanuege, could be interesting, written by two authors - a Frenchman (probably he was only a translator) and a Russian. For the first time in the form of articles, she appeared in 1933 in the newspaper "Gigapyaseagi" ("Implacable"). Many seized on the book, even wrote a lot about it, believing that Lenin had an intimate relationship with a certain Elizabeth K., a lady of "aristocratic origin." As proof, the authors allegedly cited Lenin's letters to this K. Even the most superficial analysis of the named work immediately reveals that it is the fruit of a tendentious and very awkward invention. But if Lenin did not have this secret love, one should not conclude from this that throughout his life he remained faithful only to Krupskaya and had no connection with another woman. Unfortunately, the Russian libraries do not have the book "Love Secrets of Lenin", as well as the newspaper "Igapyreap. But there is no doubt that Aleksinsky was one of the co-authors of the book. And the second, quite possibly, is the mysterious Elizabeth K. Why did I come to this conclusion? And because, fortunately,

in the Russian State Library (the former Lenin Library, and even earlier - the Rumyantsev Library), a set for 1936 of "Illustrated Russia", the Parisian journal, has been preserved

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Nala in Russian. There, in the October, November and December issues, the memoirs of Elie Zaveta K. (obviously, in Aleksinsky's note) were published under the title "Lenin in reality. His affair with Elizabeth K ***". At the same time, the "copyright" (the right to publish) was quite original: "S. Alexhi5 1 - pugap1veato. In addition, the publication photographically reproduced fragments of Lenin's autographed letters addressed to Elizabeth K. I think that Valentinov's memory failed him, and in fact "Pigapuveag {" for the first time published a series of articles about Lenin's secret lover not in 1933, but in 1935 or 1936, simultaneously with "Illustrated Russia", or even not much earlier than it. After all, if Valentinov is not mistaken in the date of the first publication of the book - 1933, then it turns out to be an obvious absurdity. It turns out that two or three years later, in 1935 or 1936, Moscow did not yet know that the letters that Aleksinsky was trying to sell had already been made public long ago, and that they had even paid a decent pension to Lenin's former mistress for nothing? It is possible that in Pitgapyareat, when translated into French, both the general content of the letters, and, in particular, the little things so valued by Valentinov, could be distorted, which caused Nikolai Vladi Slavovich to distrust the published fragments.

If the publication of letters in pgazleeat® occurred simultaneously with the publication in Illustrated Russia or immediately preceded it, one can imagine the following development of events. Moscow not only did not buy Lenin's letters kept by Elizabeth K., but also stopped paying her a subsidy. In addition, the political processes that began in Moscow, in particular, the condemnation to death of Lenin's old friends - Lev Borisovich Kamenev and Grigory Evseevich Zinoviev, could give rise to Aleksinsky and Elizaveta K. fear for their own lives. Well, how does the NKVD decide to save on payments and simply remove unwanted witnesses, gro

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who want to destroy the Leninist myth? The publication of an essay about the love of Lenin and Elizabeth K. with abundant quoting of Lenin's letters made it possible not only to earn on royalties, but also gave some guarantees. Now the death of the publishers would only attract increased attention of the foreign public to this story. Therefore, in Moscow they decided to pretend that the publication in Illustrated Russia did not exist. The topic of relations between the leader of the Bolsheviks and a girl from St. Petersburg was banned in the USSR for many years.

Another version, based on the assumption that Valentinov was not mistaken with the date, suggests the extreme unprofessionalism of the NKVD and the NKID, who for two years did not inform the Central Committee about the unfortunate publication and continued to pay Elizabeth K. a pension for the long-broken silence. However, confusion in the USSR has always existed. Therefore, such an option is also possible, although it seems unlikely to me.

But not only hidden Parisian love proves that nothing human was alien to Lenin. In the correspondence with Inessa Armand, which we will touch on later, hints related to the intimate sphere sometimes slip through.

As for Krupskaya's childlessness, it is not Lenin who is to blame here, but her illnesses. In April 1900, after leaving Shushenskoye, Vladimir Ilyich from Pskov informed his mother about the health of Nadezhda Konstantinovna, who was then in Ufa: "Nadya must be lying: the doctor found (as she wrote a week ago) that her illness (female) requires persistent treatment, that she must lie down for 2-6 weeks. Later, already abroad, Krupskaya was diagnosed with Graves' disease - inflammation of the thyroid gland, and in an acute form, so that even an operation had to be performed. But this disease, as you know, also does not contribute to childbearing.

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But back to Shushenskoye. The life there of Ulyanov and Krupskaya (in marriage she retained her maiden name) was almost reminiscent of a stay at a resort. Vladimir Ilyich received 8 rubles a month as an exile. Nadezhda Konstantinovna began to receive the same allowance after the wedding. Krupskaya recalled: "The cheapness in this Shushenskoye was amazing ... Vladimir Ilyich for his "salary" - an eight-ruble allowance - had a clean room, feeding, washing and mending clothes - and even then it was considered that he was paying dearly. True, lunch and dinner were simple - for one week a ram was killed for Vladimir Ilyich, which was fed to him day after day, until he had eaten everything; how to eat - whether she bought meat for a week, a worker in the yard in a trough ... chopped the purchased meat into cutlets for Vladimir Ilyich, also for a whole week ... In general, the exile went well. Back in October 1897, Ilyich himself wrote with satisfaction to his mother: "Everyone found that I had grown fat over the summer, tanned, and you look like a completely Siberian. This is what hunting and village life means! All the pains of St. Petersburg are on the side at once! This was also confirmed by Nadezhda Konstantinovna, a few days after her arrival in Shushenskoye she wrote to Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova: "In my opinion, he has recovered terribly, and his appearance is brilliant compared to what he was in St. Petersburg. One Polish inhabitant here says: "Pan Ulyanov is always cheerful." He is terribly fond of hunting, and everything here is about to think about, I will

look out for all kinds of ducks, teals, etc. animals.

Was Lenin's exile to Shushenskoye parodied by Mikhail Bulgakov when, in the epilogue of *The Master and Margarita*, he sent the lover of a cheerful life, director of the Moscow Variety Theater Stepan Bogdanovich Likhodeev, to an easy exile in Rostov: "Immediately after leaving the clinic in which Styopa spent eight days, he was transferred to Rostov, where he was appointed to the position of head of a large grocery store, They go

more inveterate hunters, so soon I will, on

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rumors that he completely stopped drinking port wine and drinks only vodka infused with currant buds, which made him very healthy. They say that he became silent and shuns women. Likhodeev's 8-day stay in Professor Stravinsky's psychiatric clinic can be regarded as a parody of Lenin's thirteen and a half months' stay in the house of pre-trial detention on Shpalernaya Street, which preceded his exile in Shushenskoye. Styopa's refusal, in exact accordance with Woland's recommendation, to drink port wine is reminiscent of Lenin's refusal to drink mineral water, which Swiss doctors prescribed him for a stomach ailment back in 1895. A month after his arrival in Shushenskoye, he happily informed his sister Anna: "I am quite satisfied with both the apartment and the table, I have forgotten about that Mega wabzeg about which you ask, and I hope that I will soon forget its name."

For the author of *The Master and Margarita*, Lenin really was Likhodeev, a man who did a lot of bad deeds, plunged Russia into the abyss of the "Red Terror", destroyed the calm pre-revolutionary way of life and the prosperity of the intelligentsia. I emphasize that neither during the years of Vladimir Ilyich's stay in power, nor during the period when Bulgakov wrote his famous novel, few people in the country ate as plentifully as the peasants of the village of Shushenskoye and the exiles Ulyanov and Krupskaya who shared a simple but plentiful meal with them.

Moreover, Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna ate entirely at public expense. And for additional expenses, for example, for a dentist, to whom Ulyanov went to be treated in the very provincial center of Krasnoyarsk, transfers were regularly received from Maria Alexandrovna. Leni's mother did not support the children with the help of a special monetary fund, which was made up of income from sold real estate: houses in Samara, the Kokushkino estate, the Alakaevka farm. Ulyanov also received literary fees, although not very large. With these fees, he mainly bought

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the books needed for work, which the relatives regularly sent to Shushenskoye.

But not only and not even so much political and economic articles occupied Ulyanov in exile. As Marina Ilyinichna Ulyanova later wrote: "If Vladimir Ilyich knew how to work systematically, diligently and extremely fruitfully, then he knew how to relax ... The best rest for him was closeness to nature and solitude." Shushenskoye in this sense was almost an ideal place. Nadezhda Konstantinovna describes their activities this way in one of her mother-in-law's letters: "It's very nice in Shusha in summer. Every day we go for a walk in the evenings, my mother doesn't go far, but sometimes we go somewhere far away. In the evening there is absolutely no dampness in the air and it is great to walk. There are a lot of mosquitoes here, and we sewed nets for ourselves, but for some reason the mosquitoes specially eat Volodya, but in general they let him live. The famous "hunting" dog goes for a walk with us, which all the time, like crazy, chases birds, which always angers Volodya. Volodya does not go hunting at this time (he is still not a particularly passionate hunter), the birds, perhaps, are sitting on their nests, and even the hunting boots have been taken down to the cellar. Instead of hunting, Volodya tried to go fishing, once went beyond the Yenisei to fish for burbots, but after the last trip, when he failed to catch a single fish, there is no more talk of burbots. And beyond the Yenisei, a miracle, how good! We somehow went there with a mass of all kinds of adventures, it was so very good. It's hot now. Swimming is quite far. Now a project has been worked out to bathe in the morning and for this to get up at 6 o'clock in the morning. I don't know how long this regime will last, today the bathing took place. In general, our present life resembles a "formal" country life, only we don't have our own economy.

Apparently, Vladimir Ilyich was not very lucky as a hunter and fisherman. Just like Nadezhda Konstantinov was no hostess. Therefore, the constant presence of the mother was necessary, because the revolutionary daughter

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ki everything fell out of hand. Krupskaya recalled: "My mother and I fought with the Russian stove. At first, it happened that I knocked over the soup with dumplings with my fork, which crumbled on the bottom. I had to take on servants: "In October, an assistant appeared, thirteen-year-old Pasha, thin, with sharp elbows, who quickly took over the entire household."

On January 29, 1900, Ulyanov's exile expired. Krupskaya had to leave for Ufa, where she had to wait until the end of her exile. The wife was not allowed to go to Pskov, which her husband had chosen as his place of residence. Vladi Mir Ilyich chose this city primarily because of its proximity to St.

what connection. In principle, he could have chosen Ufa as his place of residence, but for Lenin, business interests always stood above personal ones. In addition, he applied to travel abroad, from where it was much closer to go from Pskov than from Ufa. But when Nadezhda Konstantinovna fell ill in March 1900, Vladimir Ilyich obtained permission from the police authorities to visit her, and lived in Ufa for three weeks (Krupskaya had already recovered by the time her husband arrived).

In Pskov, Lenin met with the then legal Marxist and future Cadet and implacable opponent of the Bolsheviks, Prince Vladimir Andreyevich Obolensky. He left in his memoirs a remarkable portrait of Ilyich: "V.I. Ulyanov, later Lenin, had a very nondescript appearance. Small in stature, like a knee, bald, despite his young age, with a gray face, slightly protruding cheekbones, a yellowish beard and small cunning eyes, he looked more like a clerk in a flour store than an intellectual. Nadia, of course, looked at her husband with completely different eyes, although it must be admitted that Obolensky on the whole gave the correct portrait: Lenin, of course, was not handsome. And the same Obolensky noticed the peculiarity of the attitude of the future leader of the Bolsheviks to the people: "Interest in

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man was completely alien to him. Communicating with him, I always felt that he was interested in me only insofar as he sees in me a more or less like-minded person who can be used for revolutionary struggle. A similarly pragmatic approach to acquaintances and even friends is also noted by other memoirists from the camp hostile to the Bolsheviks. However, it is unlikely that Ilyich spoke only about the revolution with his wife. Although, in Krupskaya's memoirs, conversations with her husband on abstract topics are rare. And Nadezhda Konstantinovna herself admitted: "He could never fall in love with a woman with whom he would differ in views, who would not be a work comrade."

Having received a foreign passport, Lenin arrived in Austria in July 1900. Nadezhda Konstantinovna was able to join him only after the expiration of the exile, after eight months. In May 1901, Elizaveta Vasilyevna came to visit them in Munich. Abroad Ulyanov. and the Krupskys were to live for four years.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna, freed from household chores with the arrival of her mother, devoted herself completely to party affairs. On behalf of her husband, she took up clerical work: correspondence with the Social Democrats, both those who remained in Russia and those who ended up abroad. After the party split in 1903 into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, Lenin became the recognized leader of the former. By sending out letters to Party organizations that were dwarfed at that time in the localities, as well as to individual members of the Party, he

sought to lead the movement. The information received from the localities helped to assess the political situation in Russia and the alignment of forces in the European Social Democracy.

The emigrant life did not bring any special hardships to the leader. Of course, I was morally oppressed by isolation from the Motherland, but to some extent it was compensated by communication with Russian political emigrants. material about

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The leader had no problem. The help of Maria Alexandrovna and the party fund, replenished by donations from people who were not poor, such as the famous textile manufacturer Savva Morozov, allowed Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna to exist comfortably. Krupskaya testified: "They describe our life as full of hardships. This is not true. When you don't know what to buy bread with, we didn't know the need. Is this how comrade emigrants lived? Were there those who for two years did not have any earnings, nor did they receive money from Russia, they were starving. We didn't have it. They lived simply, that's right."

It seems that neither Ulyanov nor his wife felt any remorse, no guilt complexes about their relatively well-to-do existence against the backdrop of poverty, which became the lot of most emigrants. Lenin very early believed in his own uniqueness and took his relatively privileged position for granted. Krupskaya idolized her husband and only saw him at the head of the future victorious revolution in Russia and throughout the world. What is good for Lenin is good for the revolution - this principle Nadezhda Konstantinovna strictly followed all her life.

She gradually got used to the emigrant life, mastered the German language. In July 1901, she wrote to Maria Alexandrovna: "I again take up the German language, it's inconvenient without a language: I found a German woman who will give me German lessons instead of Russian ... Volodya and I are all going to the German theater, but we are not able to decent ones, we'll talk: "we'll have to go," and then we'll limit ourselves to that, then one or the other will get in the way ... However, even to say that, the mood is now somehow not suitable for this. In order to make full use of a foreign country, one has to come here for the first time when one is young, when one is interested in every little thing... However, in general, I am now satisfied with our life, at first it was somehow boring, everything is very alien, but now, as once you enter this life, feel

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disappears into it. That's just from Russia, very sparingly write a jester. And in the next letter she informed her mother-in-law: "Volodya

now he is studying quite diligently, I am very happy for him: when he leaves completely for some kind of work, he feels good and cheerful - this is such a characteristic of his nature; his health is quite good, apparently there are no traces of catarrh, and there is no insomnia either. He wipes himself every day with cold water, and besides, we go swimming almost every day."

As you can see, hard work was quite ornately combined with leisure, with an almost touristic way of life. However, Ulyanov and Krupskaya had little interest in the history and culture of the countries where they lived. They didn't even make it to the theatre. After all, they thought more and more about Russia. Here is the nature of the Bavarian and Swiss, one feels loved. Vladimir Ilyich, according to Valentinov, who knew him well in exile, was an adherent of the exact schedule of the day - "time for sleep, work, food, rest, walks." He described the latter with pleasure in letters to his mother. So, in September 1901, he reported from Munich: "Now the weather here has become better, after a rather long bad weather, and we use the time for all sorts of walks in beautiful surroundings: since we couldn't go somewhere for the summer, we should at least use it this way." !"

It cannot be said that the spouses in exile toiled from idleness, but there is no doubt that correspondence, disputes with party comrades and work on articles and abstracts left ample leisure for a pleasant pastime. In the summer, they tried to get out somewhere in nature. And when we arrived in London in the autumn of 1902 to prepare the Second Congress of the RSDLP, as Ilyich wrote to his mother: "Nadya and I have already set off more than once to look for - and found - good suburbs with "real nature". Nadezhda Konstantinovna, in turn, recalled: "During the emigration, we lived with Vladimir Ilyich in London. A comrade came to us, who wrote a beautiful

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Naya... a book on the English labor movement. If he came and did not find Vladimir Ilyich, he began to talk to me about "feminine" topics: it's bad to live alone, like a dog, you don't wash your linen, the housekeeping is bad, he should get married, take the mistress into the house.

Lenin and Krupskaya did not allow such "philistinism" and almost did not do household chores, they put it on the shoulders of Elizaveta Vasilievna. Even when Lenin's mother-in-law fell ill, she still washed the dishes, and not her daughter, who had everything out of her hands. Nadya sympathized with her mother: "...Fussing with washing dishes... it doesn't matter to a healthy person, but it's bad for a sick person." Krupskaya's culinary abilities, even among close people, fought off apitis. Somehow, in the absence of Elizaveta Vasilievna, she had to treat Lenin's son-in-law Mark Elizarov, the husband of Anna's sister, to dinner. He tried it and said with anguish: "It would be better if you brought Masha (that is, the servant. - B.S.)." When the mother-in-law

She died in 1915, the spouses had to eat in cheap canteens until their return to Russia. Nadezhda Konstantinovna admitted that after the death of her mother, "our family life became even more student-like."

Three of Lenin's letters to his wife, preserved from the first emigration, are striking in their exclusively businesslike tone, the absence of any "sentiment": "Please don't forget: in my agrarian article there is a quote from Bulgakov: comrade s.? You can't leave it like that, and if I don't come earlier and see more proofs, then you don't delete the whole note, but only these words. And the rest is in the same vein. Young passion has already evaporated somewhere. I am not sure whether there were already intimate relations between Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna at that time. They perceived each other primarily as party comrades doing one common thing. This work was almost invisible to those around him. Only the Security Department closely followed the activities of the revolutionaries: Socialist-Revolutionaries, Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, anarchists ... The police and

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gendarmes of the Socialist-Revolutionaries with their daring attempts on high-ranking dignitaries. Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were regarded as comparatively harmless theoreticians, bogged down in endless disputes on the verandas of Parisian and Genevan cafes. Their illegal newspapers and pamphlets came to Russia in a thin stream and by themselves could not undermine the foundations of the autocracy. Probably the Bolsheviks would have remained in emigrant obscurity for a long time to come. But then the revolution of 1905 broke out.

And what happened in the meantime with Inessa Armand? She was five years younger than Krupskaya. When Lenin's wife, having already ten years of experience in revolutionary work, helped her husband to develop the Russian revolutionary newspaper *Iskra* in Germany and Switzerland, Inessa had just embarked on a revolutionary path. She set up a kind of "revolutionary salon" in the Armandovs' Moscow apartment. The historian Nikolai Mikhailovich Druzhinin, who attended evenings at Inessa's in the pre-revolutionary year of 1904, recalled: "People of all ages were invited, but only of the left direction, revolutionary views and mood. The atmosphere was relaxed; conversations were on political topics. And right there, apparently, they outlined those who could contribute to the work of the Party, or those who could be drawn into the Party."

In her letters to Alexander Armand, Inessa expressed her skepticism about the attempts of the liberals to achieve a reform of the autocracy. In October 1904, she relayed Moscow rumors about a congress of zemstvo representatives held in St. Petersburg: "There is a persistent rumor going around that they have been convened in order to work out a constitution. And others assure that, although they were not called for this, they will nevertheless demand it without fail. The constitution, of course,

is already going hand in hand. By the way, she is busy, two chambers are being established, and other charms. Liberals are unfortunate! Their souls are short!" To a young woman who had recently embraced the revolutionary Marxist faith, how

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then Krupskaya, the liberal theory and practice of "small deeds" seemed philistinely frivolous, not worthy of devoting life to this.

And then Inessa cites a curious story characterizing the deplorable state of the Russian authorities on the eve of the revolution: some institution (I also ask you to guess which one), gathered the main gold bags of Moscow and began to ask them why they donate so little. One of them, Morozov, stood up and declared that at the beginning of the year he had made a large donation (40,000 people) and that after a while his clerks began to buy them at cheap prices. After that, he, Morozov, decided not to donate anything to this institution anymore. The high-ranking person was terribly offended, and the next day Morozov was called to Krestikov (the Moscow police chief. - B.S.), who told him that he was arresting him. Morozov replied: "All right, just let me manage my affairs and talk to my brother on the phone." Krestikov provided a phone number. "Brother," Morozov says on the phone, "they are arresting me, because of this I can no longer do my own business and therefore I ask you to stop working at all my factories tomorrow." Krestikov, of course, is horrified (Morozov has at least 16 thousand workers), asks him to cancel the decision, but he stands his ground. They ended up letting him go."

Well, we have before us a picture well known to us at the end of the 20th century, when humanitarian aid immediately appears on the Moscow markets. Over the century, it turns out, the Russian government has changed very little in this sense. As they steal, so they steal. It only remains to name the characters in the "joke" told by Armand. A "high-ranking person" is the Moscow Governor-General, Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich. The institution for which

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Savva Morozov donated blankets that did not reach the soldiers wounded in the Russo-Japanese War - this is the Russian Red Cross Society. He was patronized by the wife of Sergei Alexandrovich, Grand Duchess Elizabeth Fedorovna. When Inessa wrote her letter, the Grand Duke had only a few months to live. On February 4, 1905, Ivan Kalyasov killed him with a bomb. The widow of the great

The prince was destined to accept martyrdom at the hands of associates of Inessa Armand in July 1918 in Alapaevsk. She was pushed alive into the mine along with the Grand Dukes. For three days Elizaveta Fyodorovna still lived and did her best to help the wounded. Then the mine shaft was bombarded with grenades.

In another letter to her ex-husband, Inessa recorded the first peals of the approaching revolutionary thunderstorm. On December 26, 1904, shortly before Bloody Sunday, she reported: "There were a number of demonstrations - in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw, Kharkov, etc. There were beatings everywhere. Moscow is very cruel. The demonstration took place on Tverskaya. The demonstrators broke up, as I was told, into several groups. Some of the demonstrators were coming from the Kuznetsky Bridge and were beaten up there; the other part went from the Strastnoy Monastery, but managed to reach only as far as Leon Tievskiy Lane: they were met by gendarmes and policemen with swords drawn, ran into the crowd and chopped right and left, they chopped seriously, so that there were quite a lot of wounded and a few killed. By the way, one student. She was confused, separated from the crowd and, confused, on the corner. the lane stopped; one of the "pharaohs" here and slashed her and cut her neck. One student, very peaceful by nature, a philosopher, always solving some world problems and personally opposed to the demonstration on principle, went to it out of comradely feelings in order to help in case of need. When the crowd ran away from the pressure of the "Pharaohs", he did not want to run and was left alone; - he was attacked by either four or five and beat him so much that he lost consciousness and does not know how he ended up in some kind of magician

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zine. They say that he has now become not only a philosopher, but also something else. Finally, the third group of demonstrators went from Bryusovsky Lane down Tverskaya. She was greeted in exactly the same way by the policemen, and here they not only cut down, but some bailiffs even shot. For example, there was such a fact: one bailiff burst into the crowd with a revolver and began to chase after some student, caught up with him and shot him in the head almost point-blank. The demonstrators were pushed into the lane, and then to Nikitskaya. Then they stopped chasing them, so that they went through the whole of Nikitskaya, Arbat and reached the end of Zubovsky Boulevard. They were followed by a crowd of policemen and janitors, the number of the latter constantly increasing. Having reached the end of Zubovsky Boulevard, the monsters began to disperse; no sooner had the small group dispersed than the janitors pounced on it and severely beat it. Here our poor Vanya was also beaten (Armandov's pupil, medical student Ivan Nikolaev, who lived in their apartment. - B.S.). He was beaten by five people, and he came home swollen, hunched over, lame; I felt so sorry for him that I can't say, and it hurt and hurt so much for him. And the children will probably never forget this performance! Yes, that's the kind of thing going on in the world!"

February 7, 1905 in connection with the anti-terrorist

campaign launched after the assassination of Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich, Inessa was arrested. She was groundlessly accused of belonging to a "terrorist group of the Moscow organization of the Socialist Revolutionary Party". In fact, the already mentioned Ivan Nikolaev was associated with the Socialist-Revolutionaries (but not with the combat organization). However, Inessa's party affiliation was dealt with fairly quickly. As early as February 24, the prosecutor of the Moscow Court of Justice, Zolotarev, in his submission noted that Vladimir and Inessa Armand belonged to the Social Democrats. The only evidence against her was illegal literature found in the apartment and a Browning with a pack of cartridges. Vladimir Armand and Iva

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Nikolaev, due to lack of evidence, was soon released, and Inessa was placed in the Moscow provincial prison. From here, on May 20, she filed a petition with the prosecutor: "In view of the fact that I have developed anemia and my health is generally undermined, I need to be more in the air: meanwhile, solitary walks, due to the large number of walkers, cannot be long and, therefore, , are completely insufficient, and therefore I ask you to allow me to walk with a general walk, since it is longer. I repeat - a fairly long walk, especially in the current state of my health, is the minimum of hygiene necessary to maintain my health, and therefore I will achieve this minimum with all means available to me. A week later, the answer came: "Refuse, because the demands of the arrested person are contrary to the prison rules." Probably, Inessa exaggerated her physical condition in order to achieve an easier regimen. After all, at the same time she wrote rather cheerful letters to Alexander Armand: "I was moved to tears by your devoted and selfless friendship ... Sasha, what good relations have been established between us! What a good feeling our friendship is! Honor and glory to you ... Regarding the troubles about my release, you don't bother too much, because I feel good, that is, I'm completely healthy ... Regarding the troubles with the Governor General, I don't know what to answer you : if this is a general course of worries about freeing your hands, then turn to him, but if this is a "special favor", then you should not do this. I am healthy. At one time, I was very drawn to freedom, now this feeling has calmed down, it was probably caused by the fact that many were released the other day, well, the imagination played out, and now it has subsided ... " necessary! But the efforts of her ex-husband were crowned with success, and on June 3, 1905, Inessa was released on bail under police supervision. And in October, in connection with the royal manifesto

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stom, granting subjects basic civil liberties, the case was terminated under an amnesty.

Inessa entered the law faculty of the university as a volunteer. She closely followed the events of the first Russian revolution. Having learned about the death of the Bolshevik Nikolai Bauman, who was killed by the Black Hundreds, and about the powerful demonstration of workers at his funeral, Inessa wrote to Alexander: "He was a glorious, good man ... And how magnificently the workers behaved! What kind of heroes are they? what strength and greatness in this harmonious, harmoniously struggling mass. There has hardly ever been a more magnificent, more majestic struggle in history." She was attracted to the struggle, she bowed before the masses, she believed that the organization of workers on the basis of Marx's theory and the principles of class struggle would lead social democracy to victory.

Inessa continued her propaganda and organizational work and again came to the attention of the police. On April 9, 1907, she was arrested in the case of the illegal "All Russian Military Union of Soldiers and Sailors", but was soon released for lack of evidence. A new arrest followed on July 7, 1907 in the premises of the "Bureau for hiring servants" in the house number 30 on Bolshoy Kolosovy Lane. Here that day a meeting of the committee of the All-Russian Railway Union was held, which discussed the organization of the strike of railway workers - in response to the dispersal of the State Duma carried out by Prime Minister Pyotr Arkadyevich Stolypin. Nobody believed Inessa's explanations that she had come here simply to look for domestic servants. Armand was placed in the Lefortovo prison. In the surviving prison photograph, Inessa with her eyes closed. Probably, in this way she wanted to make future searches more difficult for the police, even then thinking about escaping. On September 30, 1907, Stolypin, as head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, signed a decree on the exile of Inessa Armand under open police supervision to a remote county

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Arkhangelsk province. Thus ended the first Russian revolution for her.

But what were Lenin and Krupskaya doing at that time? With the beginning of the revolution, Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda Konstantinov did not return to Russia. But Inessa was not met this time. On January 10, 1905, the leader of the Bolsheviks in Geneva learned about the execution of a workers' demonstration in St. Petersburg. Krupskaya recalled: "Everyone was seized with the consciousness that the revolution had already begun, that the fetters of faith in the tsar had been torn, that now the time was close with everything when "tyranny will fall, and the people will rise, great, mighty, free ..." to bring this sweet moment closer, Lenin hurried to Russia. However, the return took place only after the manifesto of October 17, which gave the Bolsheviks the possibility of legal or at least semi-legal activities. At the end of October 1905, Vladimir Ilyich, using fake documents

documents departed for St. Petersburg. First of all, after his arrival, he visited the graves of the victims of Bloody Sunday at the Preobrazhensky cemetery. A week later, Nadezhda Konstantinovna also left for her homeland. In her memoirs, she admitted: "I was deathly longing for Peter abroad. It was now all seething, I knew it, and the silence of the Finland Station, where I got off the train, was in such contradiction with my thoughts about St. Petersburg and the revolution, that it suddenly seemed to me that I got off the train not in St. Petersburg, but in Par's head. Embarrassedly, I turned to one of the cabbies standing there and asked: "Which station is this?" He even stepped back, and then mockingly looked at me and, akimbo, answered: "Not a station, but the city of St. Petersburg."

In St. Petersburg, the couple at one time tried to live together. Party comrades got them reliable passports of real people, which they could risk registering at the police station. But soon Vladimir Ilyich suspected that their apartment was being watched. The couple again settled apart and usually saw each other in the editorial office of the New Life newspaper. Lenin participated in the publication of legal

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Bolshevik newspapers, spoke at meetings and rallies. Krupskaya helped him, still doing mainly clerical work. Nadezhda Konstantinovna was considered the secretary of the Central Committee and was in charge of correspondence with the few local organizations of the RSDLP. She recalled those days with enthusiasm: "A lot of people came to us, we looked after them in every possible way, supplied them with what they needed: literature, passports, instructions, advice." However, the instructions and advice did not help this time to realize the dream of the Bolsheviks to seize power by force of arms. After the suppression of the uprising of the workers of Presnya in December 1905, repressions against the socialist parties intensified in Moscow. It was necessary to strengthen the conspiracy.

During this visit to St. Petersburg, Lenin met, at the very end of 1905, Elizabeth K. However, whether this was the real name of the stranger, whether her real name really began with the letter K, we do not know. After all, she had to hide not only from the NKVD, where, obviously, they knew the true personal data of Lenin's acquaintance, since they had previously paid her a subsidy. I had to hide my past, probably from my Parisian friends, and, possibly, from my husband. Therefore, it is far from certain that the memoirist's name was Elizabeth and that her last name really began with K. But I will call her by this name, since it has not yet been possible to establish her identity.

Here is what Elizaveta K. told about her life before the significant meeting took place: "At that time I was still very young, but I had already managed to get married and — already — to part with my husband, who was not of Russian nationality. Like many other young ladies and young ladies of St. Petersburg society of that era, I, with the same in-

Teresom referred to the most diverse and even opposite manifestations of the spiritual life of the capital. I visited the Free Economic Society, where Marxists and anti-Marxists broke their spears in disputes on the most abstract topics of political economy. Attended meetings of writers and

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it's decadent. She went to meetings where the Social Democrats, the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, and their opponents, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, anathematized each other in order to anathematize "tsarism" with the same fervor. I happened to meet then people who later "went down in history." I remember well, for example, V.R. Menzhinsky, who was then a young assistant to a barrister and was, on the one hand, closely associated with rather depraved and ultra-bourgeois circles (in particular, with the circle of the poet Kuzmin) - (a subtle allusion to the non-standard sexual orientation of the future deputy and successor Dzerzhinsky, since the homosexuality of Mikhail Kuzmin was known quite widely. - B.S.), and on the other hand, with the conspiratorial organizations of the Bolsheviks, which allowed him later ... to become the chief head of the Soviet Che-ki.

Elizabeth K. recalled her acquaintance with Lenin in an almost epic manner: "1905. Winter. Strong frost. Nevsky Prospekt is covered with snow. As an emancipated and free woman, I go to dine alone in a small tavern-basement, which is located in one of the side streets near Nevsky and is visited by writers, journalists, and artists. Here Elizabeth saw her acquaintance, the Bolshevik Pe-Pe (so, with initials, his memoirist designates). Together with Pe-Pae, he dined, paying tribute to the Tatar cuisine of the squash, some stranger who was introduced to Elizabeth by William Frey. The girl asked: "Are you English?" Lenin (and it was him) slyly grinned: "Not really." He glanced at her, where curiosity was mixed with suspicion. Lisa did not escape the fact that William Frey spoke of almost everything with a contemptuous grin. On the whole, he did not make a strong impression on her: "His voice was not unpleasant. He burred very strongly. The reddish color of his hair curiously corresponded to the reddish spots that dotted his face and even his hands. But, in general, there was nothing special about his appearance.

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Go, and I confess, I was very far from the idea that I was in the presence of a person on whom the fate of Russia should have depended.

Elizabeth K. visited the editorial office of Novaya Zhizn, where the same Pe-Pe gave her a subscription to Bolshevik publications for distribution (although Liza's acquaintances signed

fit badly). There, a new meeting with William Frey took place. Liza was just leaving the office, and Lenin was heading there, dressed in a fur coat and with a thick briefcase under his arm. Got to know each other. Lenin greeted the girl by the hand and was friendly: "How are you? Very glad to meet you. Why don't you go to a Tatar restaurant anymore?" Elizaveta remembered Frsya's words well: "I understood this phrase as an invitation and, a few days later, I spoke about it to Pe-Pe. He laughs: "But this is really funny. My good comrade William Frey is interested, of course, in the women's question, but more in terms of social and political consequences. And that he would be able to deal with this issue on ... an individual basis, I would never have imagined this. And besides, you know what? After our dinner then, he asked me if I could vouch for you. He is a man prone to suspicion and avoids new acquaintances so as not to run into a provocateur or provocateur. I should have explained to him who you are. And he went on to say that your apartment could be an excellent place for his "appearances." After all, William Frey is a major figure, it is he who leads our faction. In essence, he is our recognized leader." As you can see, Lenin not only could not love a woman who was indifferent to the revolution, but also dared to court only a "quite proven" person. Moreover, he preferred to combine courtship with party work.

We agreed that once or twice a week he would come to Elizabeth's apartment for secret meetings with party comrades. In total there were

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10-12. But 3 or 4 times Liza and Vladimir Ilyich were left alone, because those who were supposed to come did not come. The hostess offered Lenin a cup of tea: "It was not so easy, because these days I let the servants go, and I had to "melt" the samovar myself. I mentioned this to William Frey, and he hastened to offer me his assistance. We went to the kitchen, and he showed himself to be a very capable "kitchen man", pricking the torch to kindle the samovar and blowing it up with all his urine. Then he helped me carry the heavy samovar to the dining room, and we chatted over a cup of tea.

Once Frey-Lenin asked Elizaveta, pointing to the piano standing in the room: "Do you play? "Do you like music?" Lisa answered the question with a question. "I love it," Ilyich admitted, "but I don't understand anything about her." Elizabeth played the Pathétique Sonata. She remembered very well how Lenin listened to this piece: "William Frey listens attentively and a little ironically, but when I start the 3rd part of the sonata, he gets inspired and says: "Here, this is very good!" - and asks me to play the beginning of the 3rd part again ... "

Meetings in private do not go unnoticed. Between the 35-year-old Vladimir Ilyich and Elizaveta K., who, no doubt, was much younger than him, there is already some mutual sympathy. Lisa spoke about it this way: "All this, taken together, is "appearances", where my mysterious guest received no less mysterious conspirators, our tet-a-tet behind the samovar that we put together, the responsibility that I bore for the safety of my guest, and the trust he showed me, all this created an atmosphere of intimacy between us. But William Frey did not use it at all to court me. He gave the impression of being very awkward and inexperienced in dealing with women, and carefully avoided all those topics that most men love to touch on when they are alone with a not old and not very without.

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figurative woman. But I instinctively felt that he liked me. Once I burned my hands with a piece of coal that had fallen out of a samovar, which my guest had blown too much. I screamed in pain. He turned around and, seizing my hand, kissed it, and then blushed like a delinquent schoolboy. He must have felt very embarrassed, because that day he shortened his visit, refused to listen to music, and left looking embarrassed and dissatisfied. Usually there was no trace of an ironic and slightly contemptuous smile ... "

Elizabeth K. needed to go abroad for several weeks. Therefore, Lenin had to stop the "appearances" on the SS Quargir. When she returned to Psterburg, William Frey was no longer there. When asked by Elizabeth K. where their mysterious acquaintance had gone, Pe-Pe at first feigned surprise, pretending to have forgotten who William Frey was. And when the girl recalled the circumstances of their acquaintance, he admitted that he did not know where he was and what was happening to him. Apparently, hiding somewhere from arrest.

Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna went to Stockholm in April 1906 for [At the Unity Congress of the RSDLP. In May they returned to Petersburg. On the 9th, Lenin (under the surname Karpov) spoke with great success at a meeting in the People's House of Countess Panina, where there were representatives of various parties: Cadets, Social Democrats, Social Revolutionaries. Krupskaya continued to act as liaison and secretary. They lived separately with Lenin.

One day in the summer of 1906, Pe-Pa invited Elizabeth K. to go together to the extras in Polustrov, warning that the best speakers of the party would speak there. When Elizabeth heard the chairman's voice: "The floor is given to Comrade Lenin, the delegate of the Central Committee," she recognized William Frey in the next speaker. Thus, an unexpected revelation took place (although Elizabeth learned the real name of her guest even later). Lenin spoke with inspiration about "the betrayal of the liberal bourgeoisie", but, according to

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According to Elizabeth, he was a speaker specifically for the proletarian audience, he spoke simply, counting on not very educated listeners. After some time, the Cossacks appeared, and the extras had to flee. Fleeing from the Cossack whip, Liza jumped over the ditch on the move, but immediately fell into another. When the Cossacks were pooping, the girl rose from her involuntary hiding place and saw that William Frey had fallen into the same ditch. He, too, got up and began to look for his hat. Eliza Vega described the subsequent scene as follows: "We look at each other in embarrassment and burst into laughter. He recognizes me and says: "This is more dangerous than any samovar!"

Liza and Lenin returned to St. Petersburg together. In order not to catch the eye of police agents, they traveled in a roundabout way: first to the Forestry Institute, and from there on the "steam horse" (the first St. Petersburg tram) to Elizabeth's apartment. As they walked down the street, Lenin in a hat, Liza in a headscarf, the girl said to her companion: "Passers-by probably take you for a dressed-up merchant who is courting a maid." At home, Elizabeth gave William Frey a brush to clean his clothes. They again drank tea at the samovar, ate sandwiches, and Lenin talked about the reasons for the failure of the demonstration, blaming the organizers of the extras in it. Liza again played him the 3rd movement of the Pathetic Sonata, and Vladimir Ilyich left. This meeting was not the last. About what happened next, Elizabeth told: "Leaving me, he promised to come again soon. And, indeed, I see him again in a few days. Then ... we meet several more times (a much significant ellipsis, it can be interpreted in such a way that now meetings with William Frey have become intimate. - B.S.). Our dates are always very short. He is always in a hurry and always preoccupied. It annoys me that he doesn't give me his address. And he doesn't say anything about himself. In essence, this is for me a mysterious stranger who appeared in front of me from a dense fog in order to

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disappear into it again. But perhaps this is what attracts me..." Here Liza, a child of the Silver Age, voluntarily or involuntarily brings into her memoirs an image from Andrei Bely's famous novel "Petersburg", written then later than their meetings with Lenin, already in the 1910s. The revolutionary Dudkin appears there, declared by the writer one of the most prominent leaders of the Russian revolution, like Lenin, a hereditary nobleman. Dudkin, like Lenin, is only a pseudonym. The real name and surname of the character is Aleksey Alekseevich Pogorelsky. And this Dudkin, just like William Frey, a mysterious stranger, like a shadow, emerges from the fog of Petersburg streets in front of

sponsored by Ableukhov and again turns into a shadow, returning into a foggy darkness: "Petersburg streets have one undoubted property: they turn passers-by into shadows, while Petersburg streets turn shadows into people. We saw this in the case of the mysterious stranger. He, having arisen as a thought, for some reason connected with the senatorial house; there surfaced on the avenue, directly following the senator in our story." In the same way, William Frey for Lisa, who was carried away by the revolution, became, as it were, the materialization of her vague ideal - a revolutionary man, capable of captivating not only his beloved woman, but also the masses.

Krupskaya knew nothing about Lenin's affair with Elizaveta K. In April 1906, first Vladimir Ilyich, and then Nadezhda Konstantinovna, went to Stockholm for [At the Unity Congress of the RSDLP. Before leaving for Sweden, Lenin made an appointment with Elizaveta K. in the Summer Garden and told his mistress that he had to go abroad to the party congress. "Where?" Lisa dared to ask. "I don't know myself yet," replied Ilyich. "I ask because," Elizabeth explained, "because I also want to go abroad. So we could meet." Lenin was indecisive: "This... This is, perhaps, not so convenient. I will be busy all the time at the convention, and you will be bored alone. The girl replied:

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"I'll miss you here too." "Good," Lenin surrendered, "good. You will find me in Stockholm in two weeks, but just don't go there via Finland, because that's how all the "illegal" delegates to the congress will go. Drive through Germany, through Sassnitz and then through Trelleborg. In Stockholm you will find G. (he is a Swedish Social Democrat). Here is his address. You will tell him to inform me of your arrival."

Two weeks later, Elizabeth K., as agreed, appeared in Stockholm, came to "comrade G", who had "hair like an artist, and a fiery look." She asked him in German: "Give me the address of Comrade William Frsya." "Which Frsya? the Swede was surprised. - I'm like that

Don't know". "But. William Frey from Petersburg," Lisa repeated uncertainly. "I don't know," G. stood his ground. "Lenin," the visitor finally uttered. "Ah, comrade

Lenin," the Swedish Social Democrat perked up. "Are you a delegate to the Russian Congress?" "Yes," Elizabeth decided to lie, fearing that otherwise G. would not give her the address of Ilyich at all. G. asked her to wait, contacted someone on the phone and asked Liza to come at a certain hour the next day. At the appointed time, she appeared again and was able to talk to Lenin by telephone. He made an appointment with Lisa for the evening of the next day at one

nome Stockholm restaurant. At the same time, Lenin warned that if she saw other Russians at the meeting place, she should pretend that she did not know him and wait until they left. Here Elizaveta K. met with Joseph Stalin for the first and last time in her life: "The next day I am at the appointed place. This is an automat restaurant. Lenin is not. Instead, I find there two Caucasians in high fur hats. They are fiddling with the automatic machine and must not be able to figure out the Swedish names of the dishes and the inscriptions that indicate which button to press to open the desired dish. One of them is very dark, with a little curly hair.

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themselves, with black eyes, and his cheeks were spoiled with traces of smallpox. The other one is rather handsome, with very blue eyes... Lenin enters. Both Caucasians rush to him, and the brunet says: "Comrade Ilyich, explain to us this damned bourgeois mechanism. We want to get a ham sandwich, but instead we all end up with a cake." Lenin activates the desired button. The Caucasians fill their pockets with sandwiches and leave.

"These are two delegates of our Caucasian organization. Nice guys, but completely savages.

Long later, I was leafing through Soviet publications, and I recognized one of these Stockholm "savages" in a portrait of Stalin."

Later, Nadezhda Konstantinovna had to face the Caucasian "savage" directly and endure insult from him. Of course, Elizaveta K. did not know that Lenin's wife was then at the congress.

In Stockholm, Lisa did not know what to do with herself. She recalled: "I'm bored. I hardly see my friend. He's always busy at that damned convention. Only once - it was a holiday - he was able to free himself for a few hours. We went to the outskirts of Stockholm, took a boat and took a walk through the fiords. Countless islands-cliffs covered with pines, among greenish la toons ... I sit at the helm and watch him row, holding the oars firmly in his muscular hands. I look at him, and the thought occurs to me that his trade as a professional revolutionary and Marxist intellectual is, with everything, not what he should be doing. He should have been a farmer, a fisherman, a blacksmith, a sailor. I tell him this. He laughs, as usual. I remember paintings with northern landscapes, novels by Knut Hamsun. And I talk about them with Frey.

"Yes," he answers, "Hamsun is an extraordinary writer. In "Hunger" he very well portrayed the physiological

the physical and psychological torments of the unemployed, the victims of the capitalist system.

And I, the unfortunate romantic fool, didn't think about Toloda at all. I thought of Lieutenant Glen's Story and Victoria... No, we really speak different languages and our heads are built differently. I'm getting more and more bored. To kill time, I look around torod, palaces, museums. But the cold beauties of the "Venice of the North" do not appeal to me. In essence, I have nothing to do here, except to wait again for a break in the work of the Congress of Russian Social Democracy and hope that this break will allow him to see me ... I feel humiliated and decide to leave. I am leaving Stockholm without even informing Frey of my departure."

Lisa's resentment is understandable. To go to distant lands, and even in a roundabout way, almost through half of Europe to meet a loved one, and in two weeks he could devote only a few hours to her. And even the conversation about literature and art reduced to some kind of Marxist platitudes. It turns out that they are not only people of different age and position, but also speak different languages, think differently. Liza probably did not know that Krupskaya was also in Stockholm at that moment, and it was not so much the congestion of congress affairs as the presence of his wife that prevented Lenin from meeting his mistress more or less regularly.

After the Duma was dissolved on July 8 and the uprisings in Sveaborg and Kronstadt were suppressed, it became dangerous to stay in Petersburg. Lenin and Krupskaya moved to Finland, to the Kuokkala station, where they settled in a dacha rented by a Social Democrat. Nadezhda Konstantinovna constantly shuttled between Kuokkala and Petersburg, delivering Lenin's articles and instructions. She handed them over at a permanent turnout at the Technological Institute. Soon, Elizaveta Vasilievna also settled in the dacha in Kuokkale, taking over the household.

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In the autumn of 1906, Vladimir Ilyich tried to renew an affair with Elizabeth K. He sent a short letter to his obstinate lover with a request for a meeting: "Write without delay and exactly where and when exactly we should meet; otherwise there may be delay and misunderstanding. Yours.." It is curious that, by what name Ilyich signed the letters addressed to her, Elizabeth never cites. Maybe "William Frey"? For conspiracy.

This time there was no response from Lisa. Meanwhile, Lenin and Krupskaya lived as if soul to soul. On June 27, 1907, Vladimir Ilyich wrote to his mother from the seaside Finnish town of Stirsudden:

pans, walks, bezlyuds. Lack of people and idleness is best for me. Nadezhda Konstantinovna added in the same letter: "Dear Maria Alexandrovna, Volodya is not in the habit of writing bows, and therefore I send greetings to you for myself and for my mother ... I can confirm that we are having a great rest, it has blown us all so that it is indecent to seem to people ... The forest here is pine, the sea, the weather is magnificent, in general everything is fine. It's also good that there is no economy." And this was written in those days when dozens and hundreds of revolutionaries, including Lenin's party comrades, as well as random individuals who were not involved in any crimes against the authorities, found out on their own necks what a "Stolypin tie" was, being hanged or shot by the verdicts of "rapid justice" - courts-martial. In some decade, Ilyich will stage such a campaign of extrajudicial terror, in comparison with which the Stolypin era looks almost exemplary in terms of respect for human rights, and the courts-martial are almost ideal legal proceedings.

After the coup on June 3, 1907, the dissolution of the Duma and the collapse of hopes for a speedy new upsurge of the revolution, even in Finland, it became too dangerous for Lenin. In December 1907, Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna crossed over to Sweden by different routes.

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The couple lived in Stockholm for a short time. In early January 1908, Lenin and Krupskaya moved to Geneva, which they knew well. Here everything was already familiar and, unlike Sweden, there were no problems with the language barrier: both German and French were quite well owned.

While Lenin and his wife were putting their affairs in order, and in particular their vast archive, before leaving Finland, Inessa Armand was on her way to exile. At the Nikolaevsky railway station in Moscow, she said goodbye to Alexander and the children. She arrived in Arkhangelsk on November 21, 1907. Here Inessa was placed in prison alone. The authorities feared that the exile might try to escape. Vladimir Armand arrived next in Arkhantelsk. He tried to have his wife left in Arkhangelsk or, in extreme cases, settled in the relatively civilized Kholmogory or Pina. The medical report on Inesa's state of health stated that she was "obsessed with malarial fever during a decline in nutrition." However, the governor of Arkhangelsk still determined for Inessa Fedorovna Armand the place of exile, Mezensky district, remote from the provincial capital, and in this district the most remote "bear corner" - the village of Koyda on the very coast of the White Sea.

In mid-December 1907, Inessa wrote to the children: "On arrival in Arkhangelsk, they put me in a prison castle, where communication with my will is very difficult, and from there I only got out when I got into a sleigh to go to Mezen ... When we arrived to Mezen, they immediately wanted to send me

another hundred miles further, to the village of Koidu. I really did not want this, firstly, because the post office does not know how it goes there, and, perhaps, you will be completely without news, and secondly, there are no political ones at all, and therefore it would be more boring. I managed to stay in Mezen. There are about a hundred exiles in Mezen. The city itself consists of two parallel streets, between which there are short lanes - in general, this city is no larger than the village of Pushkino. It has 2000-something inhabitants. But still there is a school, and a hospital, and a post office, and a television

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traffic, but the mail comes only twice a week. And people here do not live in yurts, but in huts with huge stoves, but the huts are badly put together and badly caulked, so that, as they say, the wind walks in them. It's very cold today, and since yesterday, due to inexperience, we didn't heat the stoves a second time, our water froze in a tub and, in general, it was so cold in the kitchen that my hands were cold - so when I was chalking and making coffee, then she kept groaning and throwing hairpins at Volodya, who is a chief stoker. He has now learned how to heat and how to build a samovar." The second husband of Inez's son was in no way inferior to her future lover in the art of heating the stove and setting up the samovar. And Inessa, one feels, significantly surpassed Krupskaya, not only in appearance and sharpness of mind, but also as a housewife.

At the same time a letter was sent to Alexander Armand. In it, Inessa admitted: "I mentally transfer everything to you, to Pushkino ... Thank you very, very much for all your troubles about me, I am so grateful to you for everything. You don't know how glad I was to see you all at the Moscow station: I didn't expect this at all, and it was a very great joy for me. I kept your bouquet as a keepsake. I don't know how I will live two years without children, sometimes it seems impossible to me, I keep hoping that I will be able to move to Arkhangelsk, because they could come there ... I won't write about my mood - it is changeable. In Arkhangelsk, it was very hard and worsened with fever - at first here, in Mezen, the ability to move freely, to see people gave me courage, but now something is again sad, but I don't want to complain: after all, in comparison with others, I am very, very good, but I miss the children ... "

In the next letter to her ex-husband, on January 14, 1908, she characterized the local way of life and, in particular, emphasized the difficult female lot: "Mezen is the same county town as any other in Rus'. I never saw Dmitrov anywhere (Alexander Armand was sent there

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for taking part in the strike, which we will tell about elsewhere. - B.S.), but I think that he is, right, like two twins

tsa, similar to Mezen. The population here, however, is rather wild: the men have a dangerous, difficult trade - fishing, and they are constantly away - in winter they mainly catch saffron cod, in summer - salmon, flounder, etc. e. And in winter, in forty-degree frosts, they carry this very fish with their hands - it's even scary to think. Here you don't know how to hide yourself, but they climb into the water with their hands and sit in the cold all day long - however, they are saved by a malitsa, this is a wonderful garment in which there are absolutely no gaps, since it is one-piece and put on over the head; they also go for seals, but, it seems, rarely. The women stay at home, and the whole economy lies with them, so that they work so hard that it is terrible to think that in some villages even mills are unknown, and women, like ancient slaves, grind grain in a hand mill.

Here, Inessa expressed her anxiety that she might be sent from Mezen to a remote village because, along with other exiles, on January 9 she commemorated those who fell on Bloody Sunday. But it worked out. Alexander tried to get Inessa released abroad. There was a refusal. Also, efforts to transfer the exiled to Arkhangelsk were unsuccessful.

Inessa in Mezen returned to the profession of a home teacher. In May, she informed Alexander: "I am having lunch with two comrades with whom I got along well, so now I no longer cook myself - I am satisfied with this, since it took a lot of time. I have a lot of lessons - I prepare three comrades for the four classes of the gymnasium and two I simply teach the Russian language. There are a lot of Poles, Jews, Latvians here, and all this audience copes very badly with the Russian language, and one has to hear the most diverse breakdown of the Russian language, but in general it turns out very quickly. Some come here without knowing a word, and after a few months they are already chatting.

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Soon, in the spring of 1908, Vladimir had to leave Mezen and move to Switzerland: his pulmonary tuberculosis sharply worsened due to his stay in the cold northern region. Inessa was left alone, and her melancholy began to seize her more and more. And then there was the fever. Only after recovering from her illness, in August 1908, Inessa wrote to her friends, spouses Anna and Vladimir Asknazi: "What can I tell you about my life: there is, of course, nothing particularly good here. Mezen is a city of the spiritually dead and dying, there is nothing amazing or terrible here, as, for example, in hard labor, but there is no life here, and people here are rotting like plants without moisture. The civilized people of big cities, with their intense life and richness of interests, cannot get along in the quiet Mezen swamp, and people spiritually grow weak, cease to be adapted to the life to which they were previously accustomed and to which they will eventually return. There are no interests here, no living ties with the population, not even just physical work, or, if there is any, only temporary and

random, the muscles learn to work, the brain to think intensively - and it is sad to see how comrades come here cheerful, full of energy and then wither, it is hard to ascertain the same process in oneself. Of course, the more energetic, conscious and active a person is, the longer he holds on - and vice versa. So, despite the favorable external conditions, we are all suffocating in the well-fed philistine environment around us from the lack of life.

Even party disputes did not save me from boredom and loneliness. In the same letter, Inessa said: "They created a Social Democratic organization here. Now the Socialist-Revolutionaries followed our example. We are arranging lectures, circles, now we want to organize discussion meetings with the Socialist-Revolutionaries, although their forces here are so weak that I don't know how productive such discussion meetings will be. We also want to publish a Social-Democratic leaflet—that would be the best thing for our public, since, after all,

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now meetings have to be arranged on the sly, thanks to the reaction."

By that time, the number of exiles in Mezen had increased significantly - up to 300, and this was for two thousand inhabitants. "My God, what a motley audience is now going into exile! Inessa exclaimed in the same letter to the Asknazi spouses. - Narodovtsy (supporters of the Polish National Democratic Party, also called Endeks; they opposed the Social Democrats. - B.S.), students (among whom there are those who submit petitions to the highest name), others disown the revolution and even more so of socialism, they bitterly and loudly repent that because of the revolution they lost 2-3 years, others drink and carouse - in general, drunkenness is very strong here - and the majority of this public is anarchist or SR. I must say and repeat without any prejudice that the entire Social-Democratic public differs favorably both in the level of its needs and in its image. life. Two rather interesting Social Democrats were sent here in the summer—it is very pleasant, and there are many good and close comrades among the Social Democrats. It amazes me that the majority of politicians here only crave superficial agitation, demand the so-called. ethical-aesthetic politics, are completely unable and unwilling to think deeper into this or that question (I exclude, again, the Social Democrats). This is how I explain that the local Socialist-Revolutionaries cannot be successful among them.

Here a comparison of two references arises directly: Lenin and Krupskaya in Shushenskoye, and Armand in Mezen. It is quite obvious that Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna did not suffer from melancholy and loneliness on the banks of the Yenisei. Although, strictly speaking, the village of Shushenskoye deserved to be called a "bear's corner" even more than the county town of Mezen. And the intelligentsia there practically

there were practically none, and there were not 300 exiles, but literally one or two and counted: the Estonian Engberg and the Pole Pro-

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Minsk. True, sometimes comrades from the St. Petersburg "Union of Struggle" came to visit from the surrounding villages.

I think that the fact that Ulya was new in exile together played a very important role here. The family, in a sense, is a self-sufficient whole, and its members can exist quite fully and in relative isolation from others. In addition, Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda had no children, they did not do housework at all, having a mother-in-law and servants to help, and therefore they could devote themselves entirely to walking, hunting, fishing and literary work. The favorable climate of the Minusinsk Basin with not too frosty winters and warm summers favored both rest and work. The arctic tundra of the Mezen, the harsh climate, in themselves, had a depressing effect on the exiles. But, probably, even more important was the fact that Inessa spent most of the exile alone. Vladimir lived with her in Mezen for only four months. Most importantly, Inessa was still in many ways a different person than Krupskaya and Lenin. She had children, loved them all very much and missed them very much. The revolution meant a lot to Inessa, but her devotion to the cause of the revolution was not as all-consuming as that of the leader and his wife (Nadezhda Konstantinovna, however, devotion to her husband and devotion to the revolution, in fact, coincided). Armand reflected much more, was distracted by reflections on aesthetic and ethical themes, at times she felt divided and even somewhat alienated from her party comrades. Until her death, she retained the warmest feelings for her first husband, from the revolution, in general, far away, while for Lenin and Krupskaya friendly relations not only with political opponents, but also with people, to politics and revolution more or less indifferent, were simply impossible.

Inessa thanked Vladimir, who had recently left, for describing in detail his meeting with the children in a letter: "I imagined them so vividly in the moment of the meeting."

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And having already escaped from Mezen, in a letter to him she explained how she became a Social Democrat: "... I took this path later than others - Marxism for me was not a hobby of youth, but the completion of a long evolution from right to left (from liberal initiatives for the revolutionary struggle.—B. S.). On the last steps of this evolution, you do a lot

lal for me - thanks to you I learned a lot and understood better and faster, because you yourself delved into various questions of Marxism so truly and deeply, so thoughtfully.

Armand managed to escape from Mezen only on October 20, 1908. She was able to get into a group of Polish workers who were leaving Mezen for their homeland in connection with the end of their exile. Inssa sent her first letter to Vladimir Armand from Moscow on November 10: "My dear Volodya, so I got out of the outskirts and am finally in the center and listen with delight to the noise of moving carriages, to the hustle and bustle of the crowd, I look at the tall multi-storey buildings, at the trams, even on cabbies. Dear city, how I love you, how closely connected with you with every fiber of my being. I am your child and I need your fuss, your noise, your fuss, like a fish needs water... I feel pretty well, in general, very happy and excited, although, despite the fact that I have been here for about a week I won't rest; but rest, of course.

Yesterday's exile could not in any way breathe the free air, could not believe that she had finally escaped from the backwoods of Mezen into the bustle of Moscow so dear to the heart.

In mid-December, she wrote to Vladimir already from St. Petersburg, where she attended the women's congress: "A lot of time, by the way, was devoted to the question of freedom of love at the congress. I can't say that something has finally been clarified on this question, but something led to new questions, and, consequently, contributed to the clarification of them, if not by the entire congress, then at any rate by individual persons. There is one contradiction in life:

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on the one hand, the desire for freedom of love, and, on the other hand, the fact that while a woman has such an insignificant income, for most of them this freedom is inaccessible, or even then she should remain childless ... I somehow especially wanted to figure something out for yourself." This eternal contradiction between the freedom of love and the material dependence of a wife on her husband worried Inessa even seven years later, when she thought of writing a pamphlet on free love and corresponded with Lenin on this subject.

On December 27, 1908, Inessa sent a letter to Alexander. She confessed how lonely she was in exile after Volodya's departure, and how lonely she was now, since she would never be able to see the children: "It turned out to be very difficult to get settled with the children ... I really want to see them as soon as possible. And no luck - it interferes with one thing, then another. Think, it's almost 1 1/2 years that I haven't seen them...

I spent the holidays disgustingly - I felt terribly lonely and completely depressed. Only now did I fully understand how I had been spoiled by life, how

I got used to being surrounded by people who are close to me, whom I love and who love me. And when I think about how unbearably hard it became for me when I was left completely alone, while so many people are alone all their lives, I even felt embarrassed in front of myself. And maybe when life is very rich in feelings, maybe then there are more needs. In any case, there was no such loneliness as here in the north - because there, even when Volodya left, there were people around who, thanks to living together, became one big family. But I will say that now I feel more cheerful and I hope more that in terms of personal life, something decent will be able to arrange. In the sense of public, I also got a job ... "

A few days later, Inessa Armand went abroad through Finland. The reason for the hasty departure was the sharp deterioration in the health of Vladimir, who was in a Swiss sanatorium. In April 1909 Ines

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sa wrote to the Asknazi spouses: "I had to leave because Vladimir suddenly became worse. Fortunately, I was able to arrange my departure very quickly. When I left, of course, I did not even suspect that he was so ill, and I thought that only a small operation was ahead - opening the abscess. But he suddenly, unexpectedly even for the doctors themselves, became much worse, and two weeks after my arrival he died. For me, his death is an irreparable loss, since all my personal happiness was connected with him, and it is very difficult for a person to live without personal happiness. Since I am not at all fit for work now - after all, it needs vigor and energy, especially now (after the defeat of the revolution. - B.S.), - and I don't have any of this, I stick around here. Until Easter, I sat in a small French town, now I have moved to Paris - I want to try to work out here. I want to get acquainted with the French Socialist Party; if I manage, I can do all this, then I will gain at least a little experience and knowledge for future work. Very, very soon she was destined to meet a new personal happiness, and at the same time arrange her social life.

But so far, Lenin and Inessa have not yet met. But unexpectedly resumed his relationship with Elizabeth K. In the spring, Lisa traveled to the Austrian Tyrol and Switzerland. In Geneva she went to the Russian library, connected, as she knew, with the Social Democrats. Elizaveta randomly asked the librarian for the address of "Comrade Lenin" - a beautiful woman, a burning brunette. She looked at the visitor with disbelief and asked why she needed this address. But then she suddenly exclaimed: "Are you not Comrade No., who is expected from Petersburg?" Although the name given to Elizabeth was absolutely unfamiliar, she, without hesitation, confirmed: "Yes, I am Comrade No. ..." "So, it means you want to see Comrade Ilyich," the library lady concluded. It was not without difficulty that Liza realized that Ilyich was William Frey. After all, the real name, patronymic and surname

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she still did not know her lover. The librarian said that Lenin was not in Geneva at the moment. He is in Paris, where tomorrow he is reading an essay (report). And the librarian handed Liza a poster, where it was written that "Comrade Lenin reads on May 12, 1908 a public abstract in the Hall of Learned Societies." The next day, Elizabeth K. was already in Paris. At the entrance to the hall crowded Russian emigrants. Lisa took a ticket to the balcony, not daring to appear in the front rows of the stalls. Lenin's report was a great success.

Elizaveta K. described this speech as follows: "Here his speech makes no less impression on me than the one I heard two years ago at the "masovka" in the forest near St. Petersburg. The situation here is not the same - not so romantic. Lenin speaks, in essence, well, but there is no subtlety in his style and manner. Almost vulgar but. He repeats the same thing ten times in order to get it right into the heads of his listeners, about whose development he should not have a very high opinion. During the speech, he walks around the stage, holding his hands under his armpits, in the cuts of his vest. When he speaks of the Cadets, Mensheviks, etc., he is still full of contempt for "traitors" and "opportunists." But he himself, it turns out, is inclined towards a certain opportunism, for he advises his supporters "to use all legal possibilities and not to boycott the elections to the Duma, as some of his party comrades recommend."

As for Lenin's "opportunism", Elizaveta K. seems to have made a precise point. In the same "Illustrated Russia" another memoirist, who took refuge under the pseudonym "Letopisets", in 1933 in the article "Lenin in power" (we will return to it later) stated: "Like any doctrinaire, Lenin thought more about the future than about the present. But being a doctrinaire, and this was the difference between Lenin and most other doctrinaires, Lenin did not cease to be the greatest opportunist, and the opportunism of his supporter

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We were accepted and passed off as realism. Lenin never shied away from any means to achieve his goals. In the validity of this last conclusion, Elizaveta K. subsequently had to be convinced, which led to her final break with Lenin.

In the meantime, Liza listened attentively to Ilyich's speech. This speech aroused different feelings in her: "I ... experienced a dual feeling: attracting and repulsive. He seems to me aloof, spiritually poor, flat... But at the same time, I hear his burping voice with pleasure, I see sly little Kalmyk eyes.

During the break, I go down from the balcony and go backstage. There, in a room behind the stage, I find Lenin surrounded by a whole crowd. I'm coming. He goggles his eyes, but controls himself and says jokingly and ironically: "Are you here? What wind brought you here? "I came to listen to the lecture. And besides, I have an order for you from one person. And I handed Lenin an envelope containing a note with my name, the address of the hotel where I was staying, and the telephone number, indicating the hour when I could be called.

The next day at the specified hour, instead of a phone call, there was a knock on the door. William Frey - with a slightly confused look. Instead of a greeting, I hear: "And I already thought that you were no longer alive." The calmness with which he pronounces this phrase frightens me. He shakes my hand, wants to take the other hand. I free myself and say, "No, my friend. This ... This is all the past "(again, a meaningful ellipsis, proving that then, in May 1908, Liza's love for Lenin was in fact by no means the past. - B.S.).

He makes a gesture, as if intending to take his hat and leave. Then he thinks it over and says with a loud laugh: "Actually, you are right. This is the past... But all the same, you are an interesting woman, the only pity is that you are not a social demo

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brief." "You are also a very interesting person. It's a pity you're only a Social Democrat."

He bursts into even louder laughter, and now we - the ion - suddenly feel free. There is something new between us. Kind and frank friendship and nothing else. We chat like old friends about Russia, about St. Petersburg, about the failed revolution, about Stockholm... When I remember our walk through the fjords, he remarks: , not a dime. You have read all of Hamsun, except for Goloda. "I also saw then that you were only a social democrat. You have not read anything from Hamsun, except for "Hunger", and this is the most mediocre thing. - "What would you like? Frey answers. "Everyone has his own fate, or as you good Christians put it, everyone has his own cross." And to my surprise, he quotes me a poem by Zhukovsky, which tells of a man who tried all possible crosses in order to finally choose one ... - the very one that he carried before.

Here Lenin referred to the translation made by Vasily Zhukovsky of a short poem ("tale") by the German poet Adelbert von Chamisso "The Choice of the Cross", which contains, in particular, the following lines:

He could not choose a single cross, Although he
reviewed everything. And again

He wanted to begin the revision;

Suddenly he saw a simple cross, which he had
previously left without comment;

It was not easy, however, it was from a hard Worked
out palm tree; but as if

Made to measure for him, so

He fell on the shoulder, he deftly.

And he exclaimed: Lord! Let me take this cross. And
took. But what? - He was the very one that he already carried

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Lenin chose his cross - the cause of the socialist revolution in Russia and
throughout the world - long ago and carried it to the last moments of his life.
Only a woman who not only loved and was loved, but also actively participated
in the struggle, could share this burden with him.

Saying goodbye, he and Elizabeth K. agreed to meet in Switzerland and
write to each other. Teasing her friend, Lisa said: "I hope your letters to me will
not be too Marxist." - "Do not be afraid!" Lenin laughed. "I'm joking," Elizabeth
admitted. "On the contrary, write to me more about your Social Democrat
affairs, only not in Marxist language. It's boring and incomprehensible to me."
And in the autumn of 1908, in a letter written after a long break, Ilyich again
returned, as in a note two years ago, to addressing "you": "For a long time I have
been going to write to you about "business". Precisely, I want to explain to you that
you should stop living like a "bird of the sky." You look like a "bird of God", of course,
because she "knows neither care nor labor." The birds of the air, as you know,
"do not sow, do not reap, and do not gather into a granary," and you are quite like
them, in my deep conviction ... In his opinion, you need to educate yourself and
arrange your personal life in a healthy and comfortable environment, without
plunging, of course, into this environment a la Chirikov (meaning Yevgeny Chirikov,
a famous Russian writer who paid much attention to the details of everyday life in
his works. - B.S.), but so that life is normal, without ill cotton wool, and to move
forward mentally and, if possible, leave a memory behind. It can be seen that
Lenin continued to experience not only friendly feelings for Lisa.

She replied that she was "not at all dissatisfied with her life." She will
engage in self-education with pleasure, but on the condition that she is not
forced to read Marx's Capital and is not shackled "morally and intellectually into
the fetters of parties-

to the point of intolerable intolerance. So

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The Social Democrat is not even allowed to write in the non-Party press. Good writers are thrown out the door of the newspaper under the pretext that they are not Marxists, etc." Elizabeth K. alluded to the events of 1905 in St. Petersburg, when "Lenin smashed the whole editorial office of one newspaper and expelled excellent employees from there because they were" insufficiently orthodox Marxists.

Lenin's reaction to her letter to Elizabeth was very surprising. He wrote: "I answer your question about "party membership": of course, in a free party one cannot impose the same bridle on everyone and introduce a charter like monastic communities, such as the obligation not to write in non-party organs. It's all about what to write, not where to write. You can describe a congress, a demonstration, an electoral struggle, a parliamentary debate—anything you like, but on one condition that the editors have no right to "edit" it. Marx, for example, contributed to the bourgeois press. In our (Russian) censored journals, the most terrible Frenchmen, like Reclus, wrote, and our emigrants, of course, under pseudonyms, because otherwise they would not have been let through, they wrote for many years - and nothing but good came out. At the same time, Lenin enlightened Lisa about the difference in the strategy and tactics of the party struggle: "The program and tactics can be summarized as follows: the program remains, tactics change. The parallel is the difference between opportunism (French word) and compromise (English word). Opportunism is an application to circumstances, bargains with one's conscience, concessions from one's own program, from its cherished essence, influence from outside, and steps back to get closer to power and the pie. Compromise is a deal with a force and - with a force still kindred - although in some aspirations - which it cannot overcome, and moving forward a smaller step than one would like, but in the same direction forward, meaning at the first improvement of the situation, move on. controversy about so

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tactics should not absorb a lot of time and be conducted passionately, because tactics at different periods can even be opposite - this cannot be considered a terrible contradiction to itself, which one can call a change in program. But even with the invariance of the program - you can always agree, if it is impossible otherwise, to go along your own road, indicated by your compass, not ten steps, but only two - again, I repeat, if it is impossible otherwise. But with this movement, in your own way, you can ride along rails, and along the highway on courier, and through impassable mud, and on Great Russian nags, and on Little Russian bulls, and on Caucasian horses and on Caucasian donkeys. These parallels refer to tactics. But on ra-

you won't have to go any more: - unless you turn them over, however, backwards
- so even in this position there is no absolute impossibility. And, nevertheless,
it's better to move, even on a chicken toe, than to freeze in place ... "

Ilyich, in "non-Marxist" language, tried to explain to Lisa the Marxist
dogmas and his own understanding of how to conduct a political struggle.
He hoped to make a real social democrat out of his beloved. Then it would be
possible to completely bridge the gap between duty, as Lenin understood it,
and feeling. Who knows, if Liza had turned out to be a diligent student,
Lenin would not have dared to leave Krupskaya and unite his fate with her?

By the way, Lenin tried to interest Lisa in the new international language
Esperanto, which was coming into vogue at that time. At the beginning of
1909, he offered to send her special brochures about this language, noting that up
to 1 million people already spoke it. Vladimir Ilyich believed that Esperanto
was very convenient to use at international congresses. He noted that the
language is "elegant" and simple - "grammar can be learned in a few hours."
Lenin obviously hoped to use Esperanto at international socialist conferences,
where there would be many delegates,

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especially from Russia, who do not speak the main European languages.
He strove to simplify the complex in order to make the complex, including
Marxism, accessible to the masses. But Lisa, it seems, did not really like this
desire - due to the lack of subtlety, which was evident even in Lenin's Paris
speech.

The next meeting between William Frey and Elizabeth K. took
place in Switzerland already in the second half of 1909. I will talk about
it in the next chapter. By that time, Lenin met Inessa, and the feelings of the
Bolshevik leader at some point were already divided between three women:
Nadezhda Krupskaya, Elizabeth K. and Inessa Armand.

EMIGRANT NOVELS:

ILYICH, KRUPSKAYA, INESSA ARMAND
IELIZAVETA K.

The story of the Bolshevik Elena Vlasova about the meeting
between Lenin and Inessa Armand has been preserved. Vlasova, who knew
Ines from joint work in Moscow, was amazed at the change that had taken
place in her: "In May 1909, I met her again in Paris, in an emigre environment.
The first thing that escaped me upon meeting was the exclamation: "What
happened to you, Inessa Fedorovna?" Inessa answered sadly: "I have great
grief, I just buried in Shvey-

the kingdom of a person very close to me, who died of tuberculosis. Inessa's eyes were sad, she was very haggard and pale. I realized that there was no need to talk about this anymore - Inessa was suffering ... This meeting took place in one of the Parisian "cafes" where our group gathered. The meeting began. Vladimir Ilyich made a report. Inessa was already here with all her heart. It was probably at that moment that her feelings for Lenin were born. But they did not have to meet for a long time. In the autumn, Inessa left for Brussels, where she entered the university. A year later, she received a graduate degree in economics—something close to our current PhD degree. Returning from Brussels to Paris, Inessa visited the Sorbonne, and in Bern, in the first months after the outbreak of the First World War, she even had the idea to write a doctoral dissertation. One

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However, being busy with revolutionary work made me forget about a scientific career.

When Lenin arrived in Brussels in November 1909 for a meeting of the International Socialist Bureau, their acquaintance with Inessa continued. On his recommendation, in the summer of 1910, Armand moved to Paris. Together with Lenin, they taught at the party school in Lone Jumeau in the summer of 1911. And love gradually arises between Ilyich and Inessa.

It is interesting that, judging by the reports of the police agency, abundantly represented among the students of the school, Inessa's lectures at Longjumeau were not a success: "History of the socialist movement in Belgium - 3 lectures; they were read by an emigrant, Inessa, who turned out to be a very weak lecturer and gave nothing to her listeners.

Inessa (party pseudonym, specially assigned for the time of teaching at school) is an intellectual with a higher education received abroad; although she speaks Russian well, she must think that she is Jewish by nationality; fluent in European languages; her signs: about 26-28 years old, of medium height, thin, oblong, clean and white face; dark brown with a reddish tint; very lush vegetation on the head, although the braid gives the impression of being tied; married, has a son 7 years old, lived in Longjumeau in the same house where the school was located; has a very interesting appearance.

There is a lot of confusion here. Inessa, as we know, is the passport name of our heroine, and not a party pseudonym. Another thing is that party comrades Inessa Eliza veta Fedorovna Armand was usually called simply Inessa. There was not a drop of Jewish blood in her. Obviously, the Jewish agent named Armand because it was the Jews that the police usually classified the majority of revolutionaries of undetermined nationality, bearing in mind that Jews

among all national minorities in the greatest degree

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nor represented in the revolutionary movement. And what is very characteristic - the agent rejuvenated Inessa by as much as 10 years - she looked so young and attractive. Undoubtedly, Inessa had a very interesting appearance and attracted the attention of both Vladimir Ilyich and the students of the school. She drew attention precisely as a pretty woman, and not as a wonderful lecturer. Lecturer Inessa, quite likely, was unimportant. And the topic of her lectures, the socialist movement in Belgium, was hardly of much interest to the Russian workers.

The appearance of Inessa was especially advantageous against the background of the appearance of Lenin's wife. It is also described by one of the students of the school in Longjumeau, who worked part-time in the Moscow Security Department: "Without exception, the correspondence of schoolchildren with relatives and friends was conducted through "Nadezhda Konstantinovna", Lenin's wife, who was in close contact with the Central Organ (Central Organ, at that time time - the newspaper Sotsial-Demokrat. - B.S.) and acting, as it were, the duties of secretary of the editorial board. Letters from "Na dezhda Konstantinovna" were forwarded to Belgium and Germany, and from there they were sent to their destination in Russia. Letters from Russia were also sent to the above-mentioned localities, sent from there to her, and here they were already distributed among the addressees-students. There are reasons to think that the correspondence was secretly looked through, and thus control over communication was carried out.

schoolchildren.

Signs of "Nadezhda Konstantinovna": old, above average or even tall, thin, oblong, pale face with wrinkles, dark blond, intellectual, wears a haircut and a hat; has no children; lives with her husband and old mother at Longjumeau.

It turns out that in Longjumeau Krupskaya was doing almost the same thing as the agents provocateurs of the Okhrana: she read through the letters of her listeners. As in the case of Armand, the author of the police report considered that the name and patronymic

about 36-38 years old

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Lenin's wife is just a party nickname. But in the age of Nadezhda Konstantinovna, he was much less mistaken than in the case of Inessa Fedorovna - only by 5 years. And he gave a portrait of Krupskaya, frankly speaking, unattractive. This description can be read just like a feuilleton, especially if punctuation marks are ignored: "long-

that pale, wrinkled face, a dark blond intellectual, wears a haircut and a hat, has no children, lives with her husband and old mother in Longjumeau. Perhaps the agent was burdened by his position. Suspecting that Nadezhda Konstantinovna also performs information functions - only in the interests of Lenin, and not the police, he subconsciously transferred to her hatred for his own cowardice.

It is possible that this description of Krupskaya was prepared by S. Iskryanistov, a worker from Ivanov-Voznesensk. In Longjumeau he was known under the pseudonym "Vasily", and to the security department as the agent "Vladimirets". Nadezhda Konstantinovna recalled "Vasily": "He was a very efficient worker. For a number of years he held responsible posts (in the party. - B.S.). Been great. He was not taken anywhere to the factories as "unreliable", he could not find any way to earn money, and he and his wife and two children lived only on the very small earnings of his wife, a weaver. As it turned out later, Iskryanistov could not stand it and became a provocateur. I started drinking great. I didn't drink at Longjumeau. Returning from Longjumeau, could not stand it, committed suicide. One evening he drove his wife and children out of the house, flooded the stove, closed the chimney, and the next morning he was found dead.

Krupskaya described the beginning of her close acquaintance with Armand with Lenin as follows: "In 1910, Inessa Armand arrived in Paris from Brussels and immediately became one of the active members of our Parisian group. She lived with seven of her, two girls and a son. She was a very ardent Bolshevik, and very quickly our Parisian public began to group around her. Inessa, who was fluent in French, studied it with a recent

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former emigrants, helped them settle in a large and unfamiliar city, at first served them as a guide guide. But Lenin, it seems, did not yet have any serious feelings for her at that time. He was still fascinated by Eli's testament to K.

Ilyich and Lisa met again in August or September 1910 in the vicinity of Geneva. Lenin arrived there not from Paris, but from the island of Capri, where he met Gorky. According to the memoirs of Elizabeth K., Vladimir Ilyich spoke of the famous writer far from unambiguously: "Lenin spoke about Gorky with sympathy, but at the same time, with undisguised irony. He told me how he went fishing with Gorki. Boat with two sailors. One grs bet. The other puts the worm on the hook and gives the bait to Gorky, who has only to throw the line into the water. When a fish is caught, the sailor takes it off the hook, and so on all the time ... Lenin said, jokingly, that this is how the Russian landowners in serfdom caught fish with their servants.

It is curious that one of the later heirs of Lenin as the head of the co-

Veteran government Alexei Nikolaevich Kosygin. He also fished in protected reservoirs, where the fish itself constantly jumped on the hook, and therefore fishing was not of any sporting interest. The Soviet premiers in terms of "fishing with servants" gave odds to the Russian landlords! By the way, Lenin's irony about Gorky's fishing could also be caused by envy. After all, as we remember, in Shushenskoye, luck in fishing did not accompany Vladimir Ilyich, and he did not like to lose even in small things.

Elizaveta K. felt that her lover and the "petrel of the revolution" had some kind of common secret: "Lenin must have loved Gorky. But there was undoubtedly something hidden from the uninitiated that bound them together. (Later I learned that Gorky was the custodian of certain sums that belonged to the party, but of an obscure origin: money obtained by expropriations, etc.). Lenin was very displeased

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he was surrounded by the "ideological" environment of Gorky, who, in his opinion, was too connected with the "revisionists" of orthodox Marxism, among whom some wanted to correct Marx's theory by adding to it the "petty-bourgeois" ideas of some German and Austrian philosophers, and others (Lunacharsky) went even further and wanted to turn Marxist socialism into a new religion."

Lenin, of course, had money secrets, and not only in relations with Gorky, through whom, in particular, 100 thousand rubles were received from the inheritance of Savva Morozov. It was an insurance premium in the event of the death of a millionaire who shot himself at Cannes on May 26, 1905. Savva Timofeevich bequeathed this money to Gorky's wife M.F. Andreyeva, who handed them over to the Bolsheviks Lenin, Krasin and Bogdanov. However, the publication of party literature and the maintenance of professional revolutionaries who were not working anywhere cost a pretty penny. Money was needed all the time.

In general, no political party without sufficient funding is worth nothing in practice, no matter how attractive its slogans may be to the masses. And to get money for the revolution, all means were good. For example, the Bolsheviks managed to get a significant part of the inheritance of a sympathetic furniture manufacturer and nephew ST. Morozov Nikolai Pavlovich Schmit by methods that are more suitable for marriage swindlers. Schmit himself was arrested in connection with the December armed uprising in Moscow and committed suicide in prison in February 1907. His two sisters, heirs Ekaterina and Eli Zaveta, married the Bolsheviks Andrikanis and Tara Tutu, whom Lenin set the task of transferring Shmitov's money to the party.

Victor Taratuta exemplary fulfilled the order. On February 21, 1909, his wife Elizabeth handed over to the Bolsheviks

all the money and shares inherited from her brother, which was formalized by a special protocol of the meeting, expanded

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editorial office of the Bolshevik newspaper Proletary in Paris under the chairmanship of Lenin. But Andrikanis convinced his underage wife Ekaterina that it would be much better to keep Schmitt's capital and live comfortably on it in the glorious city of Paris. On this occasion, Lenin dictated a letter to Inessa Armand, which noted that "one of the sisters, Ekaterina Schmit (married to Mr. Andri Kanis), challenged the money from the Bolsheviks. The conflict that arose because of this was settled by an arbitration award, which was made in Paris in 1908 with the participation of members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party ... By this decision, it was decided to transfer Schmitt's money to the Bolsheviks. But Andrikanis eventually handed over to Lenin's party only a significant part of the inheritance, and when they threatened him with a party court, he announced his withdrawal from the party.

However, the amount received through Taratuta would be quite enough for a comfortable life. Lenin received more than a quarter of a million francs, and according to some estimates, even much more than half a million. However, at the beginning of 1910, under pressure from the International Socialist Bureau, an attempt was made to unite the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. As a result, the money from Schmitt's inheritance was placed at the disposal of the so-called "holders"—the authoritative German Social Democrats Karl Kautsky, Franz Mehring and Clara Zetkin. They were supposed to issue funds to representatives of both factions of the Russian Social Democracy. Subsequently, Lenin tried to achieve the right for the Bolsheviks to use Schmitt's inheritance alone and enlisted Inessa Armand to solve this problem.

But let us return to the story of Elizabeth K. Lenin spoke with her not only about philosophical problems. The lovers walked in the luxurious alpine nature. Lenin came to his beloved on a bicycle. Being a good cyclist, I also wanted to teach her cycling, but Lisa excused herself by saying that "a lady on a bicycle looks like a

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soft and ungraceful." They also played chess. Ilyich was very fond of this game, but it was difficult for Liza. In this regard, Lenin remarked: "Until now, I have not yet met a single woman who could do three things: read and understand Marx's Capital, play chess and understand the railway guide." Lisa replied: "Capital" and chess are boring things, and women don't like boring things. As for railroad signs, women are excellent at differentiating them.

try, but they often pretend that they do not know how, in order to have an excuse to start a conversation with a companion in the compartment. In memory of this conversation, Elizaveta K. kept a small chess set, which they then played and which Lenin gave her.

Once Vladimir Ilyich and Lisa stopped on the shore of Lake Lemman. Elizabeth K. recalled: "The weather was great. The lake was azure. The air is like a glass of champagne. We were sitting on a rock, above the lake. Lenin suddenly pulled a book out of his pocket and began to read, at times uttering curses at the author and making notes in the margins and on the cover. He completely forgot my presence. I got angry and asked: "What are you reading?" "Well, that's not interesting for you." "Then why do you take books with you on our walk that are of no interest to me?" I was so angry that I snatched the book out of his hands. The cover was torn, and a piece of it flew into the lake. "You are crazy! he shouted. This book is not mine. This is book A... He gave it to me to read." "Leave her to me. I will buy another copy and you will give it to your A..." We returned from a walk and the book remained with me for many years. Even now I have saved a piece from the tattered cover.

What is striking in this scene is the fact that Lisa addresses Lenin as "you", and he addresses her as "you". Most likely, "you" here is caused by the irritation that seized Elizabeth K. when she decided that Ilyich neglected her.

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regatta. That's why I turned to him coldly and I emphasize it officially. But, perhaps, they have always accepted it this way, because of the difference in age, she is his - on "you", and he is her - on "you".

Krupskaya, of course, knew nothing about these walks of her husband with Elizaveta K.. And in general, apparently, she was at that time in Paris, where she and Ilyich moved back in December 1908. Meanwhile, Inessa became an increasingly necessary person for the leader. She translated his speeches and essays into French. Armand became secretary of the Committee of the Foreign Organization of the RSDLP. When, in August 1910, with considerable difficulty, Lenin obtained two tickets to the Copenhagen Congress of the Second International, he gave one of them to Inessa. Krupskaya, in an article dedicated to the memory of Inessa Armand, recalled: "In the winter of 1911, she and her children settled in a house next to the house where we lived then. We saw each other every day. Inessa became a close person to us. My old mother loved her very much. Inessa always knew how to get her to talk; light in the house when Inessa came. Inessa never treated anything indifferently, she always took everything close to her heart.

And in the obituary she wrote even more penetratingly: "Emigr-

tion is a hard thing. Need, unemployment, the impossibility for the majority to adapt to the revolutionary movement of a foreign country, isolation, longing for real work broke more than one strength. I have seen how surprisingly quickly many of the comrades who came from Russia, full of energy, dimmed, fizzled out... Inessa belonged to the number of people who do not dissolve in the environment, but themselves influence it. And Inessa brought a new stream to our emigrant life. There was not a shadow of mental fatigue in her, she was passionate about everything, always had her own opinion on this or that issue and passionately defended it ... Inessa's ardor, her spiritual vivacity

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together with a remarkably good attitude towards people, did she become the soul of the Bolshevik group ... "

Then, in Paris, Inessa really did not yet know spiritual fatigue. This fatigue will appear later, in Russia, after the victory of the Bolsheviks... In the meantime, Inessa sets an example of vigor and optimism to other Russian emigrants. The old Bolshevik G. N. Kotov also remembered our heroine like this: "As I see her now, she came out of our Ilyichs. Her temperament struck me then. Despite her rather solid years, she had a youthful revolutionary soul. It seemed that life in this man was an inexhaustible source. It was a burning fire of the revolution, and the red feathers in the ss hat were, as it were,

tongues of this flame.

A. S. Grechnev Chernov left a testimony about the same days: "In Paris, not far from Tolbiyak Street, which goes straight to Montsuri Park, lived Inessa Fedorovna Armand, one of the active workers of the party. She rented a room from the Ural worker I.P. Mazanov, who was in exile. I knew Mazanov from illegal work in the Donbass. While visiting a countryman, I got to know I. Armand quite closely. This was helped by our joint music lessons: I played the violin, and she played the piano, which she rented. She played a lot, had a good command of playing technique and had the feeling of a real musician.

Vladimir Ilyich eagerly listened to our game. He often came to IP Mazanov, whom he knew from exile in Siberia. With Inessa Armand, whom Vladimir Ilyich greatly valued as a worker, he was also bound by friendly ties. Sometimes Nadezhda Konstantinovna also came with him. Are we playing the most diverse things: Chopin's nocturnes and Beethoven's sonatas; they played Mozart, Bach, Wieniawski, Schumann, Schubert, variations of Berio.

Vladimir Ilyich sat down in an armchair behind the piano and listened in silence. Vladimir Ilyich was very fond of music and understood it. He admired individual passages from Moe's sonatas.

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tsart, where chords sounded solemnly and majestically, he was fond of Beethoven's sonatas, loved the stormy and temperamental Bach, the calm, soulful music of Chopin, Schubert, Schumann, the high technique of Berio's variations. Some things, such as, for example, Chopin's nocturne in mi-ba mol or Wieniawski's Legend, he asked to be repeated.

As in the case of Elizabeth K., music played a big role in Lenin's relationship with Inessa Armand. It can be said that his romance with Inessa, an excellent pianist, developed to the captivating sounds of Mozart and Beethoven, Chopin and Bach.

In the summer of 1912, Inessa Fedorovna Armand, together with another party member, Georgy Ivanovich Safarov, went illegally to St. Petersburg to intensify the work of local Bolsheviks on the eve of the elections to the State Duma. She was traveling with the passport of a Polish Yankee peasant, Franziska Kazimirovna Yankevich. On the way, she stopped at the Zwierzyniec suburb of Krakow, where Lenin and Krupskaya lived from June 22, 1912. There, Inessa stayed for two days, having received the necessary addresses and appearances from Ilyich. Armand and Safarov arrived safely in St. Petersburg, spent more than two months there, attended several meetings of workers, where they campaigned for candidates approved by Lenin for the Duma. Inessa established a connection with Alexander Armand. From those days, her note to her ex-husband has been preserved: "Thank you for the money sent, they came just in time, otherwise I was completely penniless. I live well, I am very busy, I run a lot and sit at home a little. The weather has been very cold the last few days, and besides, it is so damp everywhere here - in a word, I have caught a great cold, and I have a fever every other day. I'm taking quinine and will probably be all right in a day or two." The malaria really did. But with the police, no.

About the sad ending of their mission, Safarov told the following: "On September 12, Comrade Stalin, who had fled from exile, arrived in St. Petersburg. September 14 me, Inessa and someone else from Peter

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the Burg Committee were arrested. But the organization was already on strong legs, and our failure did not prevent Comrade Badaev from being promoted to the position of a workers' deputy in Red Petrograd. A total of 20 people were arrested at the time.

I think that the proximity of two dates, September 12 and 14, is not accidental here. Safarov supported Trotsky against Stalin in the internal party struggle and perished in the waves of terror of the 1930s. It is quite possible that in his 1926 memoir about Inessa Armand, he wanted to hint that the failure of the St. Petersburg organization was in one way or another connected with Stalin's arrival. Whether Joseph Vissarionovich neglected the conspiracy

tion and brought the "tail" to the turnout. Or, in general, Stalin was a secret agent of the Okhrana, talk about which has not ceased for several decades. In the 1930s, Krupskaya wrote about the same episode much more carefully, so that the reader would not have any suspicions about Stalin: "In St. Petersburg, the elections of commissioners for the workers' curia were scheduled for Sunday, September 16. The police were preparing for the elections. On the 14th, Inessa and Safarov were arrested. But the police did not yet know that on the 12th Stalin, who had fled from exile, had arrived.

Inessa was behind bars again. On September 27, at the interrogation, she stated that, as recorded in the protocol, "she came from abroad with the aim of placing her children in educational institutions, she did not recognize her belonging to the RSDLP and refused to give more detailed information about herself." Alexander Evgenievich Armand paid a bail of 5,400 rubles for his wife and another 500 for Safarov. He knew perfectly well that these days were lost, since the accused would probably hide abroad before the trial. The police had no illusions about this either. They simply thought it would not be superfluous to replenish the state treasury with at least such an amount and believed that Inessa Armand and Georgy Safarov pose a real danger to the authorities only here, in Russia, and not in Paris or Geneva. March 20, 1913 Inessa was released. She spent spring and summer with her children on the Volga. The trial was to take place on August 27, 1913, but by that time

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Inessa's name was gone. Through Finland, she went to Stockholm, and from there she went to Galicia to Lenin. Her arrival in September came just in time for the work from the Social Democratic conference in Poronin. Krupskaya recalled: "In the middle of the conference, Inessa Armand arrived ... Her energy did not diminish, she treated all issues of party life with even greater passion (is it only party life? - B.S.). All of us Krakovites were terribly glad to see her... After the meeting, we lived in Poronin for about two more weeks, walked a lot, went somehow to Cherny Stan, a mountain lake of famous beauty, somewhere else in the mountains.

In the fall, all of us, our entire Krakow group, became very close to Inessa. There was a lot of some sort of vitality and ardor in her. We knew Inessa from Paris, but there was a large colony, in Krakow they lived in a small comradesly closed circle. Inessa rented a room from the same landlady where Kamenev lived. My mother became very attached to Inessa, to whom Inessa often came to talk, sit with her, smoke. It became cozier, more fun when Inessa came. Our whole life was filled with party cares and affairs, it looked more like student life than family life, and we were glad to see Inese. During this visit, she told me a lot about her life, about her children, she showed me their letters, and there was a certain warmth in her stories. Ilyich, Inessa, and I went for walks a lot. Zinoviev and Kamenev called us "the party

truants." We went to the edge of the city, to the meadow (in Polish - "blon"). Inessa even took a pseudonym for herself from then on - Blonina. Inessa was a good musician, she persuaded everyone to go to Beethoven's concerts, she herself played many of Beethoven's pieces very well. Ilyich was especially fond of Zopa (e Rafendie), he asked her to constantly play - he loved music ...

At first it was assumed that Inessa would stay in Krakow, write out children from Russia to her; I went with her

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even to live in an apartment, but life in Krakow was very closed, a bit like an exile. There was nothing in Krakow to deploy Inessa's energy, which she had especially much during this period. She decided first to go around our foreign groups, read a number of essays there, and then settle in Paris, there to organize the work of our committee of organizations abroad. Before her departure, we talked a lot about women's work. Inessa ardently insisted on a broad staging of propaganda among workers, on the creation in Paris of a special magazine for working women, and Ilyich wrote to Anna Ilyinichna about the need to publish such a magazine, which soon began to appear.

It is easy to see that Nadezhda Konstantinovna explains Inessa's sudden departure from Krakow solely by considerations of "revolutionary expediency." Like, Armand, with her colossal energy and extensive plans, was crowded in the Galician outback. True, a legitimate question immediately arises: why is Ilyich himself so brilliant. Not so brilliant Krakow, where he was surrounded by only a small group of like-minded people, preferred Paris with a large colony of Russian emigrants? Or did Leni have less energy, and his plans were not so grandiose?

He himself explained the move to Galicia (to Krakow, and later, the very tiny Poronin) by the need to be closer to Russia, to keep in touch with comrades in the Motherland. Moreover, the majority of the Parisian émigré public did not belong to the Bolsheviks, and communication with the "revisionists" and "opportunists" did not give Lenin any pleasure. In general, as we remember, he loved "desertion", and the resort places in the Carpathians were ideal for relaxation.

Inessa was a somewhat different person. She was stronger than Ilyich, she was drawn to society, to a big company. And, it seems, did not reject closer cooperation with revolutionaries who did not belong to the Bolshevik faction. In the Moscow Security Department, for example, there were

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undercover information that Inessa, after returning from Russia in 1913, came into contact with the Social Revolutionaries. Whether this was actually the case, we do not know for sure even today. But what is beyond doubt is that Inessa's departure from Krakow had nothing to do with the reasons cited by Krupskaya. All her energy, all her passion at that moment, Inessa was ready to direct not on reading essays and clerical writing, but exclusively on one person - Krupskaya's husband and the leader of the Bolsheviks.

Now we can say with confidence: in Krakow in the autumn of 1913, Inessa Armand fell in love with Vladimir Lenin. This is evidenced by an SS letter to Lenin, written in December 1913. It is so important that it must be given in full:

"Darling, here I am in VUSHe [limage (bright city (fr.) - B.S.), and the first impression is disgusting. Everything about him irritates me—the gray color of the streets, and the overdressed women, and the casual conversations, and even the French language. And when I drove up to Boscheuaga 51. MisVe | to the Orleans, Parisian memories crawled in from all corners, it became so cowardly and even creepy. I remembered past moods, feelings, thoughts, and it was a pity, because they will never return again. Many things seemed green and young—perhaps this was a step passed, but still it is a pity that you will never be able to think like that, feel like that, perceive reality like that—and you will regret that life is passing away. It was sad because Arosa was something temporary, something transitional, Arosa was still very close to Krakow, and Paris is already something final. Parted, we parted, dear, with you! And it hurts so much! I know, I feel, you will never come here! Looking at well-known places, I clearly realized, like never before, what a big place you still occupied here in Paris in my life, that almost all activity here in Paris was connected with a thousand threads with the thought of you.

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I wasn't in love with you then, but even then I loved you very much. Even now I would do without kisses, just to see you, sometimes it would be a joy to talk to you - and this could not hurt anyone. Why was it to deprive me of this? You ask me if I'm angry that you "spent" the breakup. No, I don't think you did it for yourself.

There were many good things in Paris and in relations with N.K. In one of our last conversations, she told me that I had become dear to her and close only recently. And I fell in love with her almost from the first meeting. In relation to her comrades, there is some special charming softness and reliability in her. In Paris, I really liked to come to her, to sit in her room. It used to happen that you sit near her table - first you talk about business, and then you sit up, talk about

my various matters, perhaps sometimes you tire her. I was afraid of you at that time more than fire. I would like to see you, but I think it would be better to die on the spot than to come in to you, and when for some reason you went into N.K.'s room, I immediately lost myself and became stupid. I was always surprised and envied the courage of others who came directly to you and spoke to you. Only in Longjumeau and then the following autumn, in connection with transfers, etc., did I get used to you a little. I so loved not only to listen, but also to look at you when you spoke. Firstly, your face is so animated, and, secondly, it was convenient to look at, because at that time you did not notice it. I am still sad and terribly terrified because I am afraid of Tamara.

Yes, I'm terribly afraid of Tamara. Her death is a horror which I cannot fully overcome, and which at the same time has something attractive. Ongoing trains have the same effect on some people - both scary and drawn. And my most terrible thing is that sometimes the thought occurs to me that, although involuntarily, I am a little to blame for her death! There is no way I can completely get rid of this feeling, and now I am so seized by it that I cannot help myself, I want to

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tell you how it was. If it seems boring to you, don't read it, sez {more (agreed (fr.). - B.S.) (for convenience, crosses are placed at the beginning and end), but now I really want to talk about it.

+ We met Tamara in Paris. And somehow they immediately became attached to each other. She visited us every day, spent whole days with us, became a member of our family, something like an eldest daughter or a very beloved younger sister. She was much younger than me, and there was undoubtedly a lot of motherhood in my feeling for her. She was very lonely and loved my caresses - I remember often even asked me to caress her, and I caressed her just as I caressed my children. There was undoubtedly an element of enthusiasm in the ss attachment to me. We really enjoyed spending evenings together. The children go to bed, Savushka sits in her room, complete silence sets in in the house. We sit in my room - more often she is in my armchair, and I am on the carpet, close to her, sometimes vice versa - and we talk, we talk about a wide variety of things, sometimes until late at night. Either our conversation was of a very intimate nature - we talked about our own lives, then we argued or talked about a wide variety of issues. She was smart and, perhaps, even a talented person. I don't know if there are such conversations between men, but I assure you, it's very good. These conversations brought us closer and closer.

But one day the harmony was broken. I remember very well the setting in which it happened. The children and Savushka were visiting, she and I were alone in the house. There were winter

twilight, the stove was heating, and we opened the doors of the stove to make it warmer. She was squatting in front of the fire, and I was next to her on a basket. They started talking about what the life of a Social-Democrat should be like. She assured that the Social Democrat must renounce everything - from love, from the family, must know only business, live only for it. It got me very excited. And not only because I am opposed to asceticism and consider it now useless for

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deeds, but also because it seemed to me that in her mouth these were only words. With our Russian intelligentsia, words and even beliefs very, very often diverge from deeds. Ideas, words are always magnificent and the most advanced, but deeds are often miserable, if not worse. This, perhaps, to some extent, to a small extent, let's say, is what our social-democratic intelligentsia suffers from. I know that this is historically explainable, that this is the misfortune of our intelligentsia, etc. I know, but still this feature is especially repugnant to me. It was very painful for Mia to see the hated trait in Tamara. For me, it was a stain that disfigured her whole image, which I really wanted to quickly erase and destroy to live. From that day on, peace between us ended. I did not miss a chance to reproach her, I caught her in every word, in every deed, I kept repeating: here are your words, but here are your deeds, you say, you have to sacrifice everything, and you yourself are needlessly sitting abroad. I did not spare ridicule, I, it seems, right, was merciless. Conflict followed conflict, and because we loved each other, we were very hurt, but the more passionate, the more irritable our disputes became. And Tamara was looking for more and more new arguments, trying to justify her opinion better. This opinion became more and more conscious, what, perhaps, was only a vague girlish dream, gradually turning into a firm principle. She now believed that this was the only way to live. She wanted to prove to me and to herself that she would put it into practice.

And now came the decisive moment of verification, a test of strength, the moment when the word had to be turned into deed. Tamara decided to go to Russia. But there lived in Paris a man whom she loved, a settler who could not go to Russia with her. A severe conflict arose - either stay with your loved one and lose self-respect, faith in yourself, or lose your loved one. And, it seems to me, this conflict broke Tamara. And who knows, if not for me, if not for my intervention, a vague dream would have remained a vague dream, would never have grown

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in the belief that there would be no conflict. I failed to understand that Tamara was a beautiful, but delicate, fragile flower, to which life was already too harsh, which needed only to be cherished and caressed, you need to take care of

but nurture. Then he might have grown stronger and become viable. I'm so afraid that I only helped life strike you. After all, I assure you, I loved her so much. When this thought occurs to me, and it came to me in Krakow, I am horrified - I hate myself. +

Was with Nick today. You. I found Kamsky with his family and Igolkin there, who had just returned from America and scolded her for what the world was worth. Tells a lot of interesting things. They called me here the disappeared Gioconda. And they justify the opinion very long and funny. Tomorrow will be for sedan KZO. I am thinking here of reading the report of the conference before the group, and I would like to ask you for advice on secrecy, what can be said and what cannot. For example, is it possible to talk about organizations and, pointing out the variety of organizational forms, directly indicate - in Moscow this way, but in St. Petersburg differently, and is it possible, for example, to say that the organization rests on such and such legal organizations (trade unions, singing societies, cooperatives, etc.), or it is non-conspiratorial, etc. I will be grateful for any advice and guidance that you will send me regarding the report. Just answer quickly. By the way, they told me that there was news in the newspapers (or maybe this rumor comes from Rubanov) that during a conference organized by M.B. then the commission, consisting of Vanderveld and Huysmans, will play the role of an arbitration court, or what? Is it true? One more thing I ask you. When you write to me about business, somehow mark what you can talk about and what you can't talk about. And sometimes you want to say something, and you don't know how you look at it. Igolkin, by the way, takes an amusing position. He is not in our group, nor in the accept

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Rents (the latter does not like very much). You personally, he apparently loves you very much, but he sees some merit in the fact that he can still resist you. Here, they say, I am such a strong man, I do not succumb to Lenin himself. I think there's a lot of flattering in that attitude, but it's funny nonetheless.

Well, my dear, that's enough for today - I want to send a letter. Yesterday there was no letter from you! I am so afraid that my letters will not reach you - I have sent you three letters (this is the fourth one) and a telegram. Didn't you get them? On this occasion, the most unbelievable thoughts come to mind. I also wrote to N. K., brother (obviously Boris Armand. - B. S.), Zina (Social Democrat Zinaida Lilina, wife of Lenin's closest friend and comrade-in-arms, Grigory Zinoviev. - 5. S.).

Did no one get anything? I kiss you hard. Your Inessa.

After reading this letter, it becomes quite obvious: Inessa Armand loved Lenin very much. He

he was also not indifferent to the enamored admirer. But did Lenin love Inessa? I think then, in 1913, not yet. Otherwise, why did you insist on parting, did not answer letters? After all, Inessa was ready to stay, if not in Krakow, then at least in the Galician resort of Arosa, not at all for revolutionary work, but only in order to be close to the object of her love. But Ilyich was adamant and insisted on Inessa leaving for Paris, where their first meeting had taken place. Then, in 1909, and later, in Longjumeau, Armand was not yet in love with the Bolshevik leader. Or rather, she thought so. But in fact, she already loved him at that time. After all, she confessed in a letter: "I was afraid of you at that time more than fire ... It seems better that I would have died on the spot than to enter you."

Generally speaking, it is possible to establish the exact date of the only surviving letter from Inessa to Lenin. She notes that she wrote the letter in December 1913, on Saturday and Sunday. Since New Year's greetings in a letter

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no, we can assume that it was not written on the last New Year's Saturday and Sunday, on the 29th and 30th (according to the new style - the Gregorian calendar). Meanwhile, out of the three letters mentioned by Inessa and one telegram, at least Vladimir Ilyich received a telegram. And he even answered her with a telegram: "Now I received that leggram and changed the envelope that was assigned to A ... (no doubt, to Arosa. - B. S.)

What about CO:? After all, this is a shame and a scandal !! Until now, there are not even proofreadings. Ask and make sense, please.

No. "Ogiaiv", where Kautsky said the filthy phrase that there is no Party... - No. 333, 18. XI. 1913. We must get him ... and organize a protest campaign.

There is no doubt that Lenin's reply telegram was sent shortly after December 18, 1913, the day when the issue of the newspaper came out with Karl Kautsky's speech that provoked his anger at the session of the International Socialist Bureau. While working on the letter, Inessa had not yet received Lenin's telegram. This means that she wrote the letter on those Saturdays and Sundays that fall between December 18 and 29, that is, December 22 and 23. And it was precisely to this letter that Lenin's answer was preserved (albeit not completely), by the compilers of the Complete Works, dated at the end of December 1913: Nina, were supposed to carry out communication between the Central Committee and the social-democratic groups in Russia. - B. S.), as things allegedly "offensive" for the cells. So, there are no cells, if they want trusted representatives!

Comedians! Chasing the word without thinking, like the devil

life is very complex and cunning, giving completely new forms, only partly "caught" by us.

Most people (99% of the bourgeoisie, 98% of the Liquidators, about 60-70% of the Bolsheviks) do not know how to

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mother, but only memorize words. Memorized the word: "underground". Firmly. They can repeat. They know by heart.

But how it is necessary to change its forms in a new environment, how to re-learn and think for this, we do not understand this.

Summer meeting of 1913 (abroad) - it was decided: to overcome the 7-ku. The campaign of the working masses in the autumn of 1913—the majority is for us!! "Circle" of "trusted persons" (no choice from the cells!! Guard! - shout Antonov, Isaac & Co.)

decided - the masses complied.

How to do it? But you need to learn to understand this "cunning" mechanics. This could not have been done without fields and cells. And this could not have been done if there had not been new and cunning forms under fields and cells.

I am very interested in whether you will be able to explain this to the public. Write more.

Received 1 copy. "Worker's Companion". 5000 copies already split up!! Hooray!! Take on the women's magazine with great energy!"

It is a pity that neither the beginning nor the end of the letter has been preserved. And it is unlikely that we will ever find out who seized the pages: either Inessa's children when the letter was transferred to the archive, or the vigilant employees of the archive themselves, in order to avoid possible gossip. One thing is clear: the surviving part of the letter is an answer to Inessa's questions related to illegal work and conspiracy. And here are more interesting for us Lenin's revelations about kisses and parting and,

it is likely that comments on the tragic story of the unknown Russian Social Democrat Tamara, I am afraid, have been lost forever. It is characteristic that Vladimir Ilyich wrote very business-like letters to a woman to whom he was not indifferent. According to Valentinov, Lenin's love for Armand could be reduced to a kiss "between the talk about the betrayal of the Mensheviks and the resolution stigmatizing the capitalist sharks and imperialism." According to the letters

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in 1913 it was. And even, most likely, then Ilyich and Inessa did without kisses at all. Inessa Lenina already loved. Her letter is a letter from a girl passionately, for the first time, truly in love, like a letter from Pushkin's Tatyana. Reading it, you forget that Inessa is already under forty, that she was married twice, and loved her husbands. And you do not immediately pay attention to some details, as if proving that our heroine, shortly before the first serious showdown with Lenin, had a short affair, but left its mark.

It seems to me that Inessa experienced the same feelings for the revolution that she had for her friend Tamara and as people feel for the rushing towards the rear - "it's both scary and pulling." And she probably had a similar attitude towards the leader of the revolution. Lenin, like a magnet, attracted Inessa. But something, subconsciously, pushed her away from Ilyich. As then, in Paris, when, by her own admission, Inessa was afraid of Lenin "more than fire."

I repeat that, unfortunately, we don't know who Tamara, who committed suicide, was. We do not even know if this is a real name or a party nickname. But the identity of the person who lived in Paris in the same apartment with Inessa Savushki was established precisely. This is the Russian Social Democrat Yakov Da Vidovich Zevin, who had the party nickname Savva. He was among the pupils of the school in Longjumeau and then still stood on the Menshevik positions. Later, at the Prague Party Conference in January 1912, he had a heated discussion with Lenin, defending the rightness of Plekhanov, but, convinced by the arguments and the personality of the Bolshevik leader, after the conference he switched to Bolshevik positions. The police never found out Savva's real name. But a police description of his appearance was preserved, made by one of the agents at the party school in Longjumeau: "Savva", according to his convictions, a Menshevik-Party of the Plekhanov persuasion; worked at one of the large factories near Yekaterinoslav; Jewish by nationality, but does not look like one

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their appearance; the son of a shopkeeper or tradesman, completely out of touch with his environment; a native of one of the small towns near Yekaterinoslav (actually in the Mogilev province. - B.S.); before going to school, managed to serve a term of administrative expulsion in the region of Volotodsk province; speaks Russian well and resembles a traveling salesman in appearance. And here is a portrait drawn by another agent, already at the Prague Conference: "From Yekaterinoslav (i.e., a delegate from the Yekaterinoslav province. - B.S.) - "Savva", he is also "Savka", a less social democrat Vik, about 21-23 years old, above average height, full, very beautiful appearance, full ruddy face without vegetation (later, on his return to Russia, Zevin grew a mustache and beard. - B.S.), light blond; a worker, but without a definite profession, a student of the last school of party propagandists and agitators in the town

que Longjumeau, skillfully wields a pen; Russian by nationality, depending on the costume, he can be mistaken for both a worker and an intelligent person (Sava's appearance was really deceptive - he, a purebred Jew, was often mistaken for a Russian, especially since he spoke Russian without an accent. - B.S.); an ardent admirer of Plekhanov, with whom he is in direct correspondence; delegated by a local group."

At the conference, disagreements with Lenin brought Zevin literally to tears. The same agent reported: "Voting in the early days for all the resolutions that were passed (reflecting the point of view of the Bolsheviks. - B.S.), he received some kind of personal letter from Plekhanov and immediately filed a statement that he did not consider this conference to be an all-party, declines responsibility for the nature and result of its work and intends to continue to attend only as a delegate authorized by the organization, in order to subsequently have the right to make a corresponding report on the spot.

Since "Savva", in addition to his statement, also asked for the right to vote on the merits of such, then "Leni

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nym" the question was put to a vote whether to allow "Savva" to speak, and whether the conference generally recognizes the admissibility of such statements. The majority of the conference denied "Savva" the right to vote, his statement was only taken into account, and the fundamental inadmissibility of such a character of speeches in general was recognized. Savva, who did not expect such a decision, could not stand it and immediately burst into tears.

Yakov Davidovich undoubtedly had a sincere and sensitive nature. And ended tragically. Upon returning to Russia, he worked in the Bolshevik organization in Baku. Here he met with the Social Democrat Nadezhda Nikolaevna Kolesnikova, who became a fiancée. He was arrested, exiled, after February 1917 he moved to Moscow, worked in the Moscow Council, returned to Baku in August, was People's Commissar of Labor of the Baku Commune. On September 20, 1918, Zevin was shot as part of 26 Baku commissars. He managed to send his wife with two children to Astrakhan by the last steamer.

Fantastically intertwined human destinies. Already after the death of her husband, Kolesnikova became friends with Krupskaya, and from her Nadezhda Konstantinovna and Vladimir Ilyich learned about the death of Savva, whom they knew well from school in Longjumeau and the Prague Conference. Subsequently, Nadezhda Nikolaevna headed the Krupskaya Pedagogical Academy for some time. And Zevin's son Vladimir became one of Lenin's biographers.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna warmly recalled Savva: "The agitated face of Savva remained in my memory (at a conference in Prague. - B.S.) ... In Longjumeau, Savva was always

serene, very balanced, and therefore I was so struck by his excitement. Although, I note, in Longjumeau Zevin was ill with typhoid, but still did not fall into despondency. Another thing is Prague, where Yakov was shocked by the obstruction set up by his party comrades. And Nadezhda Kolesnikova testified: "Zevin subsequently always spoke with admiration about his stay in the party school. He said that this

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there were the happiest days in his life: the opportunity for 4 months of almost daily communication with Vladimir Ilyich, his lectures on the practice of party work - all this left an indelible impression. I think that after all, it was not the lectures of Lenin, with whom a sharp clash was yet to come at the Prague Conference, but the meeting with Inesa Armand made his stay in Longjumeau the happiest time in Savva's life. Tall, ruddy blond, "of a very beautiful appearance", young, and even looking younger than his years (in Prague, Yakov was not 23 years old, but full 27) fell in love with the recognized beauty Inessa. She is 10 years older than him, but also seems younger than her age. And the man Inssa is very kind. Caring for a typhoid comrade helps Savva, who does not know French, to fit into local life. And love arises. The way Inessa writes about Savushka in a letter to Ilya Chu proves that Yakov became a close person to her and took care of her children. And the very name of Zevin is mentioned here in the context of disputes with Tamara about whether a revolutionary should give up love, family for the sake of business. And in this dispute, Inessa acted as a staunch opponent of asceticism. Most likely, at that moment, the feeling of love was not alien to her. Only then she loved not Lenin, but Savva. It is possible that due to the age difference, Inessa's love for Zevin, as well as for Tamara, acquired a maternal connotation. Love for Lenin, which subconsciously arose back in Paris, captured Inessa later, already in Poland. However, the heart of Vladimir Ilyich at that time, it seems, was occupied by another. But not Nadezhda Konstantinovna. And it was not out of fear that a banal love affair would undermine his authority in the party that Lenin "brought a parting" with Armand. Moreover, for the founders of Marxism themselves, as well as for their prominent followers, adultery was quite common. In February 1929, the German communist and colleague of Armand and Krupskaya in the international women's socialist movement Clara Zetkin

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Sala to the director of the Institute of Marx and Engels, David Borisovich Ryazanov: "I learned about the existence of the son of Karl Marx and Helena Demuth as an indisputable fact from none other than Karl Kautsky himself. He told me that Ede (Eduard Bernshtein. - B. S.) told him that from the correspondence it turned out with certainty that Marx was

is the father of an illegitimate son... In one of his letters, Marx warmly thanked Engels for the friendly service he rendered him by recognizing himself as a father to his wife. Kautsky met Marx's son during his stay in London. In his opinion, this is a simple young worker, apparently not having inherited even a shadow of his father's genius. He, according to Kautsky, is uneducated and uneducated... Engels was not interested in his imaginary son, he was brought up by strangers. Neither Marx nor Engels paid him any attention. Parvus also spoke about this. During a stormy scene with his wife, he referred in the form of a "justification", as the indignant Tanya Helphand told me, to the fact that even Marx had an illegitimate son. Lenchen Demuth was a servant in the Marx family... "Gossip" about who was the father of the first daughter of Louise Freiberger - Victor Adler, Bebel or Engels - I ask you to keep in strict confidence. The Freiberger family is still alive, as well as the son of Adler and the daughter of Bebel, and I know that they then suffered greatly from gossip ... There are more serious questions for the researchers of Marx and Engels ... "

Lenin had no illegitimate children, as well as legitimate, as far as is known, was not. True, there is a legend that Inessa Armand had another sixth child - from Ilya, and that allegedly even his grave in Switzerland has survived to this day. On this occasion, the writer Larisa Vasilyeva reasonably remarked: "Is it really written on the grave that he is from Lenin?" The legend will remain a legend. But you can, of course, fantasize about which of your friends Lenin would ask to speak to Krupskaya as the imaginary father of his illegitimate child. nearest

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Ilyich's friend, as is known, was Grigory Zinoviev. But he himself had a wife. Bachelors in Lenin's environment, I do not remember something.

It is not known whether Vladimir Ilyich knew about Marx's illegitimate son. If he knew, he could refer to the example of the creator of Capital in case Krupskaya staged scenes for him about Inessa Armand or Blisaveta K. However, Nadezhda Konstantinovna probably knew nothing about K.. And whether there were explanations between the spouses at the expense of Inessa, we do not know for certain ...

Undoubtedly, the leader of the Bolsheviks had warm feelings for Armand. But then he was not in love with her yet. Because he continued to love Blizzard K. And still wrote letters to her.

Lisa recalled that Lenin's letters from Paris "were always very friendly, but often had an instructive tone. It was evident that they were written by a person accustomed to "lead" others. Even in relations with the women he loved, Ilyich could not get rid of mentoring. An indestructible need to lead, educate

Of his correspondents, real Social Democrats appeared in Lenin's letters as Inessa Armand and Elizabeth K. In November 1910, he wrote to Lisa: "I will tell you my opinion about Leo Tolstoy. I have always been of the opinion not to linger on depressing thoughts, but by an effort of will to put them aside for the time when I must act, no matter how important and immediate personal significance they may be, and it seems to me that such a habit can be achieved ...

Tolstoy's "Exodus" wonderfully embellished and completed his life, as a successful finishing touch, because it was the only reproach presented to him that he lives in spite of his preaching. And the "countess", nevertheless, dragged his body by force into the house, and did not agree to put it under the "poor tree"; persistent lady! At the same time, I find that I strive to imitate Tolstoy in my life

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neither follows anyone; he has his own fate, each of us has his own lot. As in Zhukovsky's poem about crosses: a man tried and tried all sorts of crosses - large and small, expensive and cheap - everything is too much for him; I finally found one that I could deftly carry: it turned out to be my own cross, which I used to wear and from which I thought to get rid of. It's a pity, but it was time for Tolstoy to die - and how successfully he did this finale ... "

The idea that everyone should carry their own cross constantly haunted Lenin when he talked with Lisa. He really needed the woman he loved to be ready to share this cross with him. Feeling and duty had to be in a state of harmony. And from beloved Lenin it was required to accept him completely, as he is, with these slightly eerie arguments about the death of a genius, which "remarkably decorated" his life. Reasonings, by the way, are consonant with the thoughts of Friedrich Nietzsche: "In your death, your spirit must still burn and your virtue is like the evening dawn on earth - or death has failed you badly.

Elizabeth K. clearly did not accept Lenin's cynicism. She commented on the letter about Tolstoy in the following way: "Lenin's letter should not be interpreted in a fatalistic sense. Lenin was absolutely not a fatalist. He only wanted to say that the individual destinies of people are not similar to each other and that, since a person himself has chosen his "cross", one must be able to carry it to the end, that is, to persevere in the effort begun, tirelessly. Therefore, in another letter to Lisa, Lenin wrote about the Marxist spouses Paul and Laura Lafargue who committed suicide in December 1911 (Laura was the daughter of Karl Marx): "I will tell you that I do not approve of their suicide, because he could still write and act (La Fargu committed suicide, having come to the conclusion that old age no longer allows them to continue working for the cause of the revolution. - B. S.); had the means to live and no one with his existence

did not burden me with swaying; and, if unable to act actively,

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he could still be a spectator of life and give advice to a wise man, wise in life. In this regard, they had not so long ago predecessors - Gumplovich (a well-known Austrian sociologist. - B.S.) with his wife; but with those it was more justified, because they suffered from incurable and painful diseases (cancer and blindness, it seems). K. did not like such a prudent, rational attitude to the issues of life and death. We can confidently assume that Inessa Armand was not enthusiastic about such reasoning of her beloved Ilyich. After all, the world of feelings meant a lot to her, and she experienced the death of loved ones very hard. Elizaveta K. very well felt the flaws in the spiritual world of Lenin. And the words are worth listening to. After all, the way she knew Vladimir Ilyich, probably only Inessa Armand. Even Krupskaya, I'm afraid, her husband's soul was not available to such an extent. Lisa boldly destroyed the iconographic image of her former lover: "The official biographers of Lenin weave a "gilded legend" around his personality and attribute to him the most rare and subtle spiritual traits. I knew him well and I have reason to think that he was frank and sincere with me (since in general this person, an Asian not only in appearance, but also in a character full of cunning, could be sincere). I never noticed in Lenin an iota of passion for anything that went beyond the strict limits of his political interests. He was interested in philosophy, but only as a kind of spiritual gendarme, tasked with catching and exposing violators and criminals who allow themselves to smuggle pseudo-Marxist contraband into the party. When he sent me his book on "empirio-monism and empirio-criticism" (meaning Lenin's only philosophical work, "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" - B.S.), this book did not interest me. I gave it to read to a specialist in the history of philosophy I know. He had a lot of fun reading the book and said: "This funny author explains the "mistakes" that

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someone (he was talking about some famous philosopher, I can't remember who exactly) by his social origin and profession - the philosopher was, it seems, a bishop (no doubt, he meant Bishop George Berkeley, whom Ilyich subjected to annihilating criticism.—B.S.), and at the same time he admires one materialist. He does not know that this latter became famous, among other things, for proposing to elect the crown prince a doctor "honoris causa" (honorary doctor. - B.S.) of one of the universities of Germany, motivating his proposal by the fact that the very fact of birth in The Hohenzollern family already gives the crown prince a natural right to the highest degree in science and philosophy.

I did not fail to tell this to Lenin. "It doesn't matter! —
he replied."

Lenin, according to Elizabeth K., read a lot, but rather superficially, primarily from the point of view of political preferences and needs. From Hamsun I read only "Hunger", he loved Chekhov, but read almost exclusively his humorous stories, "for entertainment and recreation", and did not read much more serious and profound stories and plays. Sometimes Lenin's ignorance in certain areas of culture simply shocked Elizabeth. Once she sent him a postcard with a reproduction of Leonard's Mona Lisa. In a response letter, Vladimir Ilyich asked: "Write, who was the Mona Lisa? I can't tell from her appearance and costume. I know that there is such an opera and, it seems, a work by D'Annunzio? But I don't know what it is." Lisa thought that William Frey was playing a prank on her. However, in one of the following letters, he reminded: "Despite my request, you did not write me anything about Mona Lisa. Write down who she was. Do not forget".

Lisa's testimonies are very consonant with the memories of V.A. Obolensky, who wrote about Lenin: "He was so absorbed in socio-political issues that he never talked to us about other topics. I can't even imagine him

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those who talk about poetry, painting, music, and even less about love, about the complex spiritual experiences of a person, and even more so about any everyday little things that are not connected with conspiracy.

As we have seen, Ilyich could talk with the woman he loved about poetry and other abstract topics, but the conversation still, in the final analysis, returned to the problems of the revolution and Marxism. So Lenin's love for music turned out to be with revolutionary overtones. Once Elizabeth K. found out why her lover was so indifferent to the 3rd movement of Beethoven's Pathétique Sonata, which she often played at his request. It turns out that at the beginning of the third part, Ilyich found similarities with a revolutionary song - the anthem of the Jewish Social Democratic Party "Bund". Elizabeth K. even kept the notes of Beethoven's sonata, where Lenin marked with a pencil the place he liked.

When Lisa was about to enter the Sorbonne and write a work on the aesthetics of human speech, Lenin wrote to her: "What are you doing - you don't want to hit art! Aesthetics is like "idealism"! You don't really pour on her." Although Lenin was still against associating all the phenomena of life with the class struggle. In the spring of 1911, he wrote to Elizaveta K. regarding an article by Bogdanov: "Here is an example of the vulgarization of Marxism by dragging the class struggle by the ears into anything. It's like

how Moskovskie Vedomosti once mocked the congresses of zemstvo doctors: a report is read on the high stone combing, and in the final conclusions the speaker says: so, Russia needs a Constitution. If the class struggle is thrust everywhere like Bogdanov into the tales of ghouls, and Lunacharsky into aesthetics and literary criticism, then it will force it into everyone's teeth and become sickening to the point of nausea. The words are absolutely correct. The only trouble is that after Lenin and his associates came to power, not a single

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the sphere of activity was not left unsupervised from the point of view of "usefulness to the cause of the proletariat."

One day, Elizabeth K. asked William Frey, slightly coquettishly, "You must admit that you are not entirely sure of me. And, in fact, why couldn't I be a "guard"? Admit it, you even suspected me. Pe-Pe told me that you asked him if I was a spy..." The interlocutor laughed in response: "To each his own. There are women who fit into politics. And others - not at all. And Chekhov said about such people: "A woman who is involved in politics is like a mad canary."

In connection with this maxim, Lisa reasonably suspected that at heart Lenin was not a feminist at all, although in the interests of the revolutionary struggle he propagated the complete equality of women, including in the field of politics. Of the three women close to him, Vladimir Ilyich clearly classified Krupskaya and Armand as those who could be involved in politics. And Elizabeth K. considered Chekhov's "mad canary". In her memoirs, Lisa summed up Ilyich's attitude to the women's issue as follows: "I don't think that Lenin was a feminist in the usual sense of the word. Theoretically, of course, he was an orthodox Marxist, for equal rights. But he was too much of a man to truly believe that. In any case, he always spoke of women with undisguised irony. True, with the same irony he spoke about men. He certainly had delusions of grandeur, and everything he saw around him seemed to him not big enough ... in comparison with his social democratic ideal or with himself? Right, I don't know."

Once, on the basis of the women's issue, Lenin and Eliza Veta K. even quarreled. This happened when discussing the conflict that arose on about. Capri. There Gorky, Lunacharsky and Bogdanov organized a school for workers. And we school leaders quarreled among themselves "on ideological grounds" and dragged both lecturers and listeners into a quarrel. According to Liza, Lenin "discovered a great

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attitude towards "spouses" who interfere in the party

affairs. This hurt me, and some time later I wrote him a letter, in which I poured out my deep surprise at the fact that he, a Social Democrat, denies the "spouse there" the right to deal with the affairs that their husbands do. Lenin's answer was condescendingly ironic and a little irritated: "With considerable effort, I overcame my disinclination to polemize about the "bad egg," to start squabbles because of petty principles and because of jokes. But that's the way it should be: for the first and last time, I "raise the glove." I do not understand the meaning and purpose of your fervent message. Is it because of foreign boredom ... It is strange to me that you write so solemnly: "in our midst", "with us" ... Yes, after all, the most venerable Vasilisa Yegorovna, the commandant of the Belogorsk fortress from The Captain's Daughter when, for her Ivan Kuzmich, she ordered that Prokhorov and Ustinya be taken apart and both punished, and she did all sorts of other things. So there is nothing new here. I, however, essentially do not object and, on the contrary, I consider such a return to the traditional view to be commendable. Some time earlier, on the contrary, I had to argue repeatedly with several "us" - "persons of female origin", to use the elegant expression of Deputy Timoshkin, who told me that marriage does not in the least change their position and relations, as a prochim, and to his not the dearest "half". All, however, who argued passionately on this subject, very soon passed on to the most ancient view, summarized briefly but vividly by the popular proverb: "A husband and a wife are one Satan" - and this, for my part, I find very deserving of encouragement - with only a small difference from the simple-hearted commandant's wife: you can be responsible for your husband and "appear at meetings" and even "voice", but with one caveat: with his knowledge and consent, on his instructions and for his responsibility - just the same, as well as for the case entrusted to the lawyer and

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what he loses, his trustee is paid. As for the "bureaucratic regulations and restrictions", I don't understand why they got here, except for the biting of expressions and a hairpin prick. But that won't get me through! - my skin is quite tanned, I accept indifferently and calmly any "style de parlay" (style of speech (fr.). - B.S.). By the way, I will mention that everyone writes with "yat", and not with "e", that's how excited you were when you wrote the battle message. And then I wish to calm down and not start "storms in a teacup". It is not worth wasting time and nervous energy on this.

After reading this letter, Liza immediately realized that Lenin looked at the role of women in the family and society quite traditionally and was suspicious of the independence of the "weaker sex". A woman can also participate in the revolution, but only under his, Lenin, and other Bolshevik men's strict guidance. Today's feminists would probably call Vladimir Ilyich a "male chauvinist."

He tried to draw Lenin and Elizaveta K. into secret work. Several times she carried out the instructions of Ilyich. Until the next incident happened. One day, Lenin asked if Liza had any acquaintances in St. Petersburg with children who could be sent a package of toys from abroad. After receiving an affirmative answer, he gave her an address in Switzerland. There, Lisa received children's cardboard cubes, from which Alpine landscapes were to be folded. By chance, she found three copies of the illegal Rabochaya Gazeta inside one cube and understood why Ilyich suddenly burned with love for children. "When I saw Lenin again," Liza recalled, "I told him about my discovery and remarked that he should have warned me about what "toys" he was talking about, because, that if the same discovery were made by the tsarist customs officers or policemen, then the friends to whom I was supposed to send "cubes" could have major unpleasantness. "It doesn't matter," Lenin replied. - This is even

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healthy. In prison, you become a real revolutionary." "Perhaps, but still I should have been warned." "But you yourself asked me to give you the opportunity to be useful to the party. And now you are dissatisfied! Here's a coward!" And from that day on, Lenin did not address me any more on any "secret" matters.

The beloved made it clear to William Frey that she did not want to live by the principle: the end justifies the means. Lisa recalled: "His two traits were ... immense pride and great distrust of people. Was he an "immoralist"? I think that the ordinary - let's say "bourgeois" - concept of morality is not applicable in this case, because this very concept was vaguely alien. "Revolution" and "party" were the only great passions of his life, but he looked upon himself as the leader of this revolution and this party. To achieve the triumph of the party, which he instinctively confused with his own triumph; to arrive at the victory of the revolution, which he confused with his own personal victory, all means seemed to him good. And to this revolutionary and, at the same time, personal activity, he mercilessly subordinated everything else. All those who did not agree with him on anything were, in his eyes, enemies of the "cause", and he hated them not only as personal opponents, but also as beings harmful to the revolution and subject to destruction. Hence his frantic and rude polemics, and his so light and final breaks with those of his friends and comrades who dared to allow themselves not always to agree with him, even in some trifle. I myself have experienced it myself - the experience was quite discouraging. She was referring to Lenin's shocking answer about whether women could take part in the party struggle.

According to Elizabeth K., a particularly sensitive

her famous lover was no different: "Lenin was by no means sentimental. Even in the most personal letters he did not give vent to any intimate feeling, and, with

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I know I was rather surprised when - quite rarely - his letters took on a different character, more sensitive and personal. At the very beginning of 1910, Vladimir Ilyich was honored to receive such a letter on the occasion of a flood that struck the French province where Lisa lived at that moment: "You did very well that you hurried to write about the flood, otherwise I already started to despair yesterday. And I wanted to send a telegram to you ... In general, keep in mind that if some kind of catastrophe happens near you, that is, not further than 1000 miles in a circle, then do not slowly send a letter of well-being ... I stayed until free that you live on a hill, this is both in terms of hygiene, and in terms of aesthetics and mood. horizons are wider (not to mention floods)."

This is not a letter to a party comrade or just a good friend. This is a letter to a man whom Lenin was very afraid of losing. And here is the most intimate of all Lenin's letters to Elizabeth K., sent in June 1913 and explaining why Lenin chose to settle in this Austrian province, and not in much closer to St. Petersburg and, therefore, to Lisa of Sweden or Finland. This letter, as K. herself admits, is "full of sadness and nostalgia": "Sometimes, I confess, I wonder if it is possible to move closer to you. But fate judged otherwise. I am engaged in all my former affairs: reading, writing, and correspondence of a specially practical nature. The atmosphere is the worst. Returned to Russia Balmont; writes that Gorky will soon also arrive there, although he wrote that he did not know anything about this. Maybe Andreeva, who has returned to the Art Theater, is busy for him ... Goodbye, dear. We look forward to when we can meet again. Is yours..."

Positively, then Vladimir Ilyich was in love with Lisa. That is why the passionate feeling of Inessa did not evoke an answer from him. But whether Lisa Lenin loved, we do not know. When she wrote her memoirs, she no longer loved! There can be no doubt about this. And before ... Nothing to say with certainty

: the views are better and

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it is forbidden. After all, the letters of Elizabeth K. to William Frey have not been preserved (if they are not gathering dust to this day in some still not declassified party archives). She probably did love it. Otherwise, I would not have gone to look for Ilyich in Paris. Wouldn't rush across many borders on short dates with

beloved. The last such date took place shortly before the outbreak of the First World War. Lisa does not write about it directly, but I got the impression that it was during this last meeting that something happened between them that predetermined the subsequent break.

In the early spring of 1914, Elizabeth K. in Switzerland received a letter from Lenin. He asked if she could "ride" to the Carpathians in the summer, where she could see each other. Lisa agreed. Lenin sent another letter, where he asked her to come not to the Carpathians, but to the Tatras, and to stop not in the village, but in a "small town" (the address was indicated), where her arrival would not attract undue attention. When Lisa arrived in the town indicated, Lenin's comrade Yakov Tanetsky met her there and said that Ilyich would arrive only tomorrow and instructed him, Ganetsky, to arrange her in a hotel and take care of her in every possible way. The guardian somehow did not like Lisa. Lenin appeared the next day. All three of them had lunch. Then Vladimir Ilyich and Elizaveta K. spent several hours together, and Lenin left the city with Ganetsky. Lisa went to Switzerland the next day. She was surprised that her passport did not contain any marks of arrival and departure, and she suspected that this courtesy was arranged by Ganetsky, possibly somehow connected with the Austrian police. Incidentally, Elizaveta K. did not have a Russian passport. At one time, even before meeting Lenin, she married a foreign subject and acquired the corresponding citizenship. Lisa, who bore her husband's surname, does not directly indicate what kind of citizenship, but by a number of signs one can guess that it is French. She and her husband have long since parted ways, but they have not formally filed a divorce.

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The city where the last meeting of lovers took place is, most likely, Zakopane - a famous resort town in the Tatras. The arrival of two foreign tourists there at the height of the season could not arouse any suspicion. It was Zakopane that Lenin did not mention at the end of April in a letter to the Social Democrat GL. Shklovsky as one of the places where he can spend the summer. But in the end he and Krupskaya stopped at Poronin. The trip to Zakopane (or some other city) to meet with Elizaveta K. was made under the pretext of meeting with the same Ganetsky, so that Nadezhda Konstantinovna would not suspect anything. And a few days after the meeting, on June 28, 1914, shots were fired in Sarajevo, hitting the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand. Soon the First World War broke out. Communication between Lenin and Elizaveta K. broke off.

Liza moved to France, and could only return to Russia in 1916. She heard rumors that after the outbreak of the war, Lenin was arrested by the Austrian authorities, but then he was released to Switzerland. Once in a Parisian cafe on Montparnasse, Elizabeth K. accidentally saw

Tanetsky. This is how she remembered this meeting: "He pretends not to recognize me and, apparently, is not even very pleased with the meeting. But I go up to him without any hesitation and say: "Are you here?" - "Why not?" "But you were in Austria and, it seems, you were on friendly terms with the Austrian authorities. How did you get here? Where is Lenin? "How did I get to Paris? It's my business. As for Ilyich, he is doing excellently. He is in Zurich. I can give you his address, that is, the address where your letter will reach him." "Is it true that he was arrested in Galicia?" — "Absolute truth. It was only thanks to me that he was able to escape unscathed from this dirty story. And "comrade Ganetsky" tells me that, having learned that Lenin was arrested as a "Russian spy" in a small place in the Carpathians, he went there - fortunately, in

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time to snatch Ilyich from the hands of the police. "I arrived just as poor Ilyich was being interrogated. I interrupted the interrogation and secured Lenin's release. I managed to save him." "But excuse me, how could you, a Polish Social Democrat from Russian Poland, intervene in the affairs of the Austrian police, and, moreover, during the war?" "I have very influential friends in Austria. They intervened in Vienna, and the government gave the order not to disturb Lenin any more and to allow him to leave for Switzerland." - "Strange!" "Nothing surprising. In Vienna they knew that Lenin was against tsarism. And the enemies of our enemies are our friends. Lenin does what every Russian revolutionary and internationalist is obliged to do: he seizes the opportunity to crush tsarism. "Yes, but a German victory could also crush Russia, France and Belgium." - "What to do? You have to choose. Germany is superior to all others in every respect, and its labor movement is immeasurably superior to all others. And Lenin's "savior" is in a hurry to take his leave."

Of course, it is difficult to say how accurately Liza reported her conversation with Ganetsky twenty years later. She could have been influenced by later publications about the financing of the Bolsheviks by Germany and Austria-Hungary, conversations on this subject with Aleksinsky, one of the initiators of the accusations against Lenin of spying for Germany. Elizaveta K. herself notes that when she returned to Petrograd in 1916, she told a friend of hers (perhaps Aleksinsky?) about her conversation with Ganetskim. In response, he pointed out to her a German magazine article on "defeatist propaganda" organized by the German General Staff among Russian and Ukrainian socialists, and about the arrest of Lenin in Austria. However, instead of this last story, there was a white spot of censored blotch in the magazine.

And after the war, in a French collection of documents, Elizabeth came across a secret report of the German General Staff, compiled back in 1911. There is a

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there was a plan to organize riots in the camp of potential enemies - in Russia and in French North Africa, moreover, these riots had to be prepared in advance and have a "leading head" in order to tie down part of the enemy forces during the war. After getting acquainted with this document, Liza, according to her, began to see clearly. Everything became clear to her: "In preparing for war, Germany and Austria were preparing not only in the military field, but also in the political one. To this end, the German and Austrian governments encouraged the activities of the Russian revolutionaries. In order to keep them under its control, the Austrian government (by agreement, of course, with Berlin) invited Lenin through intermediaries (Ganetsky!!) to dry out in Austria in 1912 - "to work against tsarism." The arrest of Lenin in November 1914 (in fact, in August. - B.S.) was carried out only in order to force a written statement and a formal obligation from him to do everything in his power, in order to "military defeat of tsarism" . From that moment on, Lenin was no longer free to choose his direction. The name Ganets whom in all this is more important than all those names that have been mentioned so far in connection with this, until now, such a mysterious matter ... "

Elizabeth K. was convinced that it was precisely from Ilyich's move to Austria that "the following events follow, with fatal logic: Lenin's arrest by the Austrians, his entry into contact and cooperation with the government of Wilhelm II, his return to Russia in the famous sealed carriage, his seizure of power, the most absolute dictatorship that the world knew and that Lenin possessed for a short period of time, in order to then move from the Kremlin throne to a wheelchair for a paraplegic and remain an incurable mental patient until his death.

Well, about the "written statement" and "formal commitment" - these are, I think, purely female fantasies. Liza must have been very upset that her lover never moved closer to her, to Finland or Scandinavia

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Viyu, and for two years he settled in a distant Galician outback. So she came up with the idea that Austrian intelligence had invited him there in order to harm Russia. And then, by arrest, she even forced Lenin to sign a kind of undercover cooperation for the purpose of "military defeat" of his homeland.

All this bears little resemblance to the truth. First, Lenin was too cautious and intelligent a person to leave such serious evidence against himself. Indeed, in the event that the "written commitment" got into the press, its reputation both in the international and in the Russian Social Democratic movement would be dealt a mortal blow. Non-

Even during the scandal that broke out in 1917 in connection with the accusations of Lenin and the Bolsheviks of being a spy for Germany, not a single document directly incriminating Vladimir Ilyich and signed by him was ever made public. Secondly, and most importantly, the Austrian, as well as the German authorities, did not at all need from Lenin and other revolutionaries any formal obligations, which all intelligence agencies of the world usually require from their agents. An agent, and even working solely for a monetary interest, is always unreliable. It can be bought out at any moment by competing intelligence services. Another thing is people acting in accordance with their convictions. They can be relied upon with greater certainty, at least for a period of time, until circumstances force a change of conviction or major opponents. The Austrian authorities knew perfectly well that the main enemy of Lenin and his party was not the Austrian Kaiser and the Hungarian king Franz Joseph 1, but the Russian Tsar Nicholas II. And no one doubted the sincerity of this part of the Bolshevik program. The Austrians quite favorably looked at the activities on their territory of organizations that fought against the tsarist government. For example, in the same Galicia, the Polish Combat Organization headed by Jozef Pilsudski found shelter, committing terrorist acts and expropriations in the Kingdom of

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in Poland, which was then part of the Russian Empire. The most sensational case of the Polish militants was the robbery of a mail train at the Bezdana station in September 1908, which was led by Pilsudski himself. The government of Franz Josef began to directly finance the Polish "combat" only with the outbreak of World War II, when Pilsudski was allowed to form Polish legions as part of the Austrian army.

If the Austrians were not afraid to tolerate the people of Pilsudski, who directly considered himself at war with tsarist Russia, then, apparently, the more peaceful Bolsheviks settled in the Austrian border Galicia, as they say, God himself ordered. Although Lenin's people did not disdain expropriations, that is, robberies in order to obtain money for the needs of the political struggle. You can take, as an example, the sensational Tiflis robbery of a mail coach in June 1907. Then ten people were killed and wounded by the bomb. The action was led by Simon Ter-Petrosyan, nicknamed Kamo. By the way, once Elizabeth K. had a chance to meet with Kamo, and the cheerful Armenian gave the young woman a sumptuous watermelon. The bombs for the terrorists from Finland were sent by Lenin himself. And for the choice of Galicia, he did not need an invitation from either the Austrian government or the Austrian General Staff. Just the leader of the Bolsheviks perfectly understood one thing. From Sweden, and even more so from Finland, he and his comrades, under pressure from the tsarist government, can at any moment, if not be returned back to Russia, then at least be sent to

any other country. In Austria, however, there was no such threat, since the Austrian government would never give in to Russian demands.

The arrest of Lenin was carried out at the initiative of the local authorities, who were not privy to the distant calculations of the Austrian General Staff. Here, spy mania played a role, which arose after the start of the war in all participating states,

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including Austria-Hungary. The government in Vienna was not involved in the arrest. It was not the Austrian military who fussed about the release of Lenin, but the same Ganetsky and the deputies of the Austrian parliament, the Social Democrats Viktor Adler and German Diamand, who vouched for Vladimir Ilyich. The latter two were involved in the chores for Lenin by Krupskaya. She wrote to Viktor Adler: "Dear comrade! My husband, Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin), was arrested in Poroni (Galicia) on suspicion of espionage. Here the population is very excited and sees every foreigner as a spy. It goes without saying that nothing was found during the search, but the notebooks with statistical extracts on the agrarian question in Austria made an impression on the local gendarme. He arrested my husband and escorted him to Nei Markt. There he was interrogated, and the absurdity of all suspicions now became apparent to the civil authorities, but they did not want to take the responsibility of releasing him. the arrest may last for several weeks. During the war, there will be no time to quickly sort out this matter. Therefore, I beg you, dear comrade, to help my husband. You know him personally; he was, as you know, a long time member of the International Bureau and well known to the International. I would urge you to send a telegram to the public prosecutor in Neu-Sandez that you know my husband well and can vouch that this is a misunderstanding. Also ask the prosecutor, if the papers have already been handed over to the German authorities, to forward your telegram to the latter ... I am sure that you and other Austrian comrades will do everything possible to facilitate the release of my husband.

And comrades helped. Victor Adler recalled this: "These were the first weeks of the war, the moment when everyone was very excited, especially in the areas of military operations, spies seemed to everyone. I was puzzled not so much by the duration of the arrest, which I do not

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wondered how much the possibility of reduced military court proceedings. I immediately went to the Minister of the Interior, Baron Heinold, told him everything I knew, and described Comrade Lenin's personality to him ... I emphasized that Comrade Lenin was an old implacable enemy of the Tsar

rism and that, regardless of his attitude towards Austria (apparently not too enthusiastic. - B. S.), he could not in any way engage in espionage in the interests of the tsarist government ... I managed to convince the minister that there was nothing to fear from Lenin and that what happened is a fatal misunderstanding. As far as I remember, even in my presence he called the Krakow police department to the phone. Both this time and during the second meeting with him in connection with the Lenin affair, the minister was only interested in whether Lenin was really a genuine enemy of tsarism, of which I could assure him with a clear conscience.

Vladimir Ilyich was certainly lucky that he avoided military legal proceedings. The Czech poet Karel Havlicek Borovsky said very precisely about the Austrian military court in the middle of the 20th century (and little has changed since then):

Military court - they don't joke with them,
Judges by order,

It contains in the bandolier

All laws at once.

The military court looks at the
shtafirok with a strict eye,

Without going into the wilds of law,
He judges by eye.

He has a pike stomach, He
decides soon: 'Eat the
innocent with the guilty without
talking.

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That is how the Cheka and the revolutionary tribunals judged after Lenin came to power. But in 1914 the Austrian authorities turned out to be more humane than revolutionary justice. They figured out that Lenin was not a spy, on the contrary, a staunch enemy of the tsarist government, they did not subject him to "expedited military proceedings" and, moreover, released Ilyich to freedom. On this occasion, the Russian émigré writer Mark Aldanov later sneered: "... Influential socialists, whom he used to scold with strong words, petitioned for him. In addition, the authorities, having heard about his views, naturally recognized that such a person absolutely did not need to be kept in prison during the war with Russia. When on August 23, 1914, the Austrian Ministry of the Interior sent a letter about Lenin to the Krakow police, it specifically emphasized in it that "in the opinion of Dr. Adler, Ulyanov could

services under these terms and conditions. "Services", like everything promised, had to wait three years.

In warring Austria, Lenin had nothing else to do. He obviously did not intend to form international legions there to fight tsarism, and communication with Russia through the front line was absolutely impossible. Now Switzerland was becoming a much more convenient place for revolutionary work. After heartily thanking Adler and Diamand for their efforts, Lenin and Krupskaya moved to the Swiss tsarist border. On September 5, 1914, they arrived in Zurich, and from there they went to Bern.

Vladimir Ilyich really pinned his main hopes for a proletarian revolution in Russia and throughout the world on the coming military clash between the bloc of the Central Powers—Germany and Austria-Hungary—and the bloc of the Entente—England, France, and Russia. In January 1913, he wrote to Gorky: "A war between Austria and Russia would be very useful for the revolution (in all of Eastern Europe) a thing, but it is unlikely that Franz Josef and Nikolasha will give us this pleasure." Here Lenin made a mistake: it is

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pleasure was delivered to him and very soon - in just a year and a half.

Elizaveta K. Ilyich sometimes wrote about international politics. One of the letters, devoted to the Italian attack on Turkey, very clearly characterizes the approach of the Bolshevik leader to these delicate problems. Here Lenin was not concerned with the norms of international law, but only with the interests of the world revolution in general and the national interests of Russian revolutionaries in particular. This letter was written in October 1911 and was a response to Lisa's letter, in her own words, "Turkophile feelings."

Lenin wrote: "You don't agree that I 'endorse' Italy. The point is not in the "approval" of Italy, but in the fact that they began to gasp: Ah! what a poor Türkiye! And what bullshit - Italians! - then I said that Türkiye does not deserve sympathy. Firstly, for 200 years they tortured, robbed and slaughtered the Slavs, etc. Secondly, the same Slavs and others have no sense from their constitution, because the Young Turks are Turkish nationalists and their constitution did not give anything to others; and they also continue to imprison and execute, and the "fours" (Slavic partisan detachments in Macedonia. - B.S.) continue to act not out of goodness, and they want to pick everyone up for themselves, which, of course, also fails, as before. As for, in particular, Tripoli itself (Italy sought to seize Turkish possessions in North Africa - the territory of modern Libya. - B.S.), then it will not be worse for him, in any case, than under the Turks. Still, they will observe the law more and will build on the basis of laws, and not tear wool together

skin and live meat. And then, in the Italian parliament, all parties are equal, and the most extreme parties have a pleasant conversation with their king and are awarded a handshake, so they have the opportunity to denounce African tado. I believe that Italian "nasty things" will still be less vile than Turkish ones. And if the Tripolitan (to

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which some Italian poet has already proposed to call "tripolitalian") the natives will patiently endure, and the Italian "seekers of truth" will keep quiet, then there will be no one to blame (under the influence of the Italian poet, Ilyich himself suddenly switched from prose to poetry. - B . WITH.). As for the Italian "swindle", when they act under the motto: "You are only to blame for the fact that I want to eat" - it's better without unnecessary equivocations and it is better to set aside the "divine truth". Tripoli, on the other hand, is really in the hands of the Italians, because it lies in the closest distance from Italy. And the Italians need colonies, because the masses of them go to work in the American countries and from there they bring a lot of money and new views and, under the influence of the latter, the views of the rural population are modified and new orders are introduced in agricultural policy ...

Be healthy, smart, handsome and cheerful. Is yours...

R. 5. Just today I read that the Italians had abolished slavery in Tripoli. This means that the Young Turk constitution, having existed for 3 years, did not prevent serfdom from remaining in Tripoli; it means that the Zemstvo people have already won that one, because if they are beaten for "freedom", then it's not so "to the point of insensibility" as in slavery, when it's possible to kill, and in general under the Turkish order "sekim head " was done more freely than it would be under the Italians. Then there is a general political consideration: 1) I do not mind if the Italians get their "annexation" more expensive, so that both Turkey and Italy become exhausted. This plays into the hands of "us," because whatever you say, "we" need the straits; they will give a lot in politics, and in trade, and in navigation (and it would be desirable for me personally to be a zemstvo statistician in Constantinople or in some Buyuk-Dar, etc.). 2) When Italy captures Tripoli (Tripolitania too), then she should be more afraid of France, which in the event of a "conflict" can take this very "Tripolitania" into its paws. Now Italy will only have to grab

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their "irredenta" (territories inhabited by Italians. - B.S.) from Austria. These two circumstances can force it to fall away from the "Triple Alliance" (with Germany and Austria-Hungary. - B.S.) and go over to the side of the "Triple Agreement" (i.e., the Entente, which included England -

lia, France and Russia. - B.S.), and this is in the hands of "us" in the future great European fight, during which I dream of uniting the all-Slavic federation. I really wish to arrange the Slavic Empire! - and have time to move to subtropical countries, before he died, and live with you on some vacation under palm trees and eat your own oranges, drink "Moscow" tea with your own "alemonchiks", etc. etc. it. e. Congratulations for now, in anticipation of future blessings ... Well, goodbye! Be healthy, cheerful and happy. Is yours..."

Lenin also wrote to Liza about the Balkan War. Here is his letter from the end of 1912: "As for your fears about the war, I do not share them now. As soon as the conferences in London began, I began to think that things would end happily at them: the Serbs would be reduced for Austria, the Bulgarians and Greeks for Turkey - and everyone would make peace, that is, there would be no European war, but the Turks would The Balkans, perhaps, will also be resumed if the Turks are given a hint. In any case, the results of the war will be beneficial for the Balkan states and for Russia (keeping in mind, of course, official policy and diplomacy), and for Austria irreparable losses. In the event of a war with Russia, the Turks can hardly help the Austrians, but against them a new force in the form of a Balkan alliance, and their passage through the Novo-Bazar Sanjak on the other side of Mitrovica is closed forever. When the Balkans recover from the war in finances and armies, then Austria, in the event of a European war, may crumble ... "

Some of Lenin's predictions turned out to be accurate, while others were completely wrong. In some ways he guessed, in some ways he was wrong. Well, that's what happens with all political predictions that are never completely right.

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or completely wrong. I note that Lenin very accurately predicted the composition of the coalitions that clashed with each other in the First World War. In particular, he foresaw the transition of Italy to the side of the Entente, the collapse of Austria-Hungary as a result of defeat in the world war. Lenin was not mistaken in the fact that the 1st Balkan War would soon be followed by the 2nd. That's just the composition of its participants identified incorrectly. It was not Turkey and the Balkan alliance that clashed in the 2nd Balkan War, but the two main participants in the Balkan alliance, Serbia and Bulgaria. So the Balkan alliance, contrary to Lenin's forecast, did not play any role in the future European war. Ilyich was also greatly mistaken in the timing of the start of this war. He by no means viewed the Balkan War as a prologue to the world war, which it actually became.

The following circumstance is very interesting. From Lenin's letters to Elizabeth K. it is quite clear that the leader of the Bolsheviks was never a supporter of the Central Powers. No less than the collapse of Russia, he wanted the collapse of the war between Austria-Hungary and Turkey. And what would the Russian army have time to capture before the defeat?

tit Constantinople (Istanbul) and the Black Sea straits. Obviously, Lenin did not have much faith in the onset of a world revolution in Europe. And he hoped that revolutionary Russia would be able to win a vast foothold in Eastern Europe and Turkey, and then start spreading the fire of revolution in Germany, England, France, and in the countries of the East.

Lenin's foreign policy program surprisingly coincided with the program of tsarist Russia. Hegemony in the Slavic world, control over the Straits... And no international law was to limit the revolution that the Russian revolutionary army was supposed to carry to other peoples on its bayonets. Essentially, it is the same striving for world domination that prompted the leaders of Germany to unleash two world wars. Only the slogans are different. In one case, "the acquisition of life

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nogo space". In the other, "the triumph of the proletarian revolution throughout the world." That is why Lenin was by no means going to condemn Italy's aggression against Turkey and seemed to have nothing against foreign policy actions being carried out according to the principle reflected in the lines of Krylov's fable: "You are only to blame for the fact that I want to eat!" He approved of cynicism in politics and felt that if they came to power in Russia, the Bolsheviks would have to act in the same way as the Italians acted towards the Turks. And in order to justify any aggression, it is enough just to present the victim of aggression as a monster. What Lenin does in a letter on the example of Turkey. Then, when in 1920 the Red Army moves on Warsaw, we "mentally" march further - to Berlin, the explanations will be very simple: a response to the Polish aggression, a breakthrough in the capitalist encirclement, the crushing of international imperialism, the triumph of the advanced social system over the steel, bringing suffering and death to millions of working people, the vast majority of the population.

However, in the case of Turkey and Italy, the situation was not at all as simple as it seemed to Vladimir Ilyich. For some reason, the inhabitants of Tripolitania did not appreciate the delights of "civilized" Italian colonialism and, with the outbreak of the First World War, under the leadership of Turkish agents, raised an uprising that continued until the end of hostilities in Europe. Apparently, the former Turkish "nasty things" after the Italian "nasty things" were remembered almost as good deeds. And the "Red Terror", with which Lenin surprised the country and the world after coming to power, was comparable in scale to the massacre of Armenians carried out by the Young Turks during the First World War and after.

Everything seemed to Ilyich a distant and vague future. That is why he presented his foreign policy projects to Lisa in a somewhat joking manner. And the coming earthly paradise for mankind suddenly turned into a dream of paradise

for two on a tropical island. Under the palm tree, with zither

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owls and with "Moscow" tea... William Frey loved Lisa, if only with her he thought of "holidays" on an exotic island somewhere in the southern seas. If Lenin Krupskaya showed the letters to Inesa, then it was not by chance that the letters to Elizabeth K. with everything remained a secret for Nadezhda Konstantinovna with seven seals.

No, Lenin did not act in the interests of the German or Austrian General Staff, but primarily in his own interests. His main interest was to take power in Russia, and then, if he was lucky and there was enough time, then throughout the world. Of course, like the Grand Inquisitor in Dostoevsky, Lenin needed power only to do good to mankind, to feed everyone, to share everything fairly, to make everyone happy, to arrange the kingdom of heaven on earth. Remember how the Grand Inquisitor confessed to Christ that he sacrificed his love for God for the sake of love for people? "... And I blessed the freedom with which You blessed the people, and I was preparing to become one of your scolds, among the mighty and strong ... But I woke up and did not want to serve madness ... I left the proud and turned to the humble for the happiness of these humble. What I tell you will come true and our kingdom will be built... Tomorrow you will see this obedient herd, which, at my first wave, will rush to rake up hot embers to your fire, on which I will burn you for coming to disturb us. .

Lenin rejected God a long time ago. But not only God. He was ready to sacrifice his love for a woman without hesitation for the sake of the revolution. This is what happened in the case of Elizaveta K. But in the end, what Lenin hoped for did not work out. Yes, power was seized and retained. It was possible to suppress all opposition, including dissent in the party itself (this was already under Stalin). It was possible to destroy private property and deprive the vast majority of the people of their property, making it state property. That is, belonging, as it were, to everyone, and at the same time - to no one

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specifically. But in fact - to a narrow layer of officials, later called the nomenklatura (now - a word that is clearly abusive). It was possible, again under Stalin, to return almost all the territories of the Russian Empire and to put under his control all of Eastern Europe and part of Germany - the inheritance of the Austro-Hungarian and German empires, which Ilyich dreamed of. The only thing that has failed to convince the majority of people is that freedom is the complete and sincere acceptance of the dogmas of Marxism, and justice is equality in poverty, when everyone is satisfied that a neighbor lives

The government is not richer than itself, and those who really do not live in poverty do not advertise their wealth to the people too much, preserving the myth of unmercenary party members burning at work. That is why it was necessary to maintain the most powerful repressive apparatus in the world and the most powerful army in order to be able to resist the rest of the world.

Lenin physically could not live to see the collapse of socialism in Russia. But in a historical sense, this collapse followed very quickly - a little over seventy years after the October Revolution. Lenin could not foresee such an outcome even in a nightmare.

It can be assumed that during the last meeting, Liza was finally convinced that William Frey, for the cause of the Thoths, would go for something that was unacceptable to her. Perhaps even then Lenin's mistress felt that he was ready to accept even the help of the Austrian authorities, if only to crush the tsarist regime - the main obstacle to power. And that Russia and France—countries whose fate was not at all indifferent to Lisa—could collapse along with the tsar, did not bother Lenin in the least. And he, in turn, during the last conversation with Elizabeth fully realized that she would not accept him as he was, would not be able to put the revolution above all else. He will not be able to see in him inseparably a revolutionary and a man. And even then, in Galicia, there was actually a gap. After all, after that, Lenin never wrote to Lisa, although he probably knew both Swiss and

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her Parisian address. And Elizabeth K. was no longer looking for William Frey. And she didn't even take the Zurich address suggested by Ganetsky. By the way, since it was in Zurich, it means that the meeting in a Parisian cafe did not take place until February 1916, when Lenin moved from Bern to Zurich. I think Ganetsky did not know that then, in June 1914, Lenin came for a love date. He believed that Lisa's meeting with Ilyich was purely businesslike. That K. is one of many who renders this or that service to the Party. That's why he made sure that there were no police marks left in her passport. And, not knowing that everything was over between Lenin and Liza, he was ready to hand over this address without fear, where one could establish contact with the Bolshevik leader.

Of course, Ganets cue himself could shed light on many things. If only I had written a candid memoir. But Yakov Stanislavovich Furstenberg, better known under the pseudonym Ganetsky, did not live to see his frank memoirs. He only had time to publish in 1933 quite innocent "fragments of memoirs" "On Lenin". In 1937, Yakov Stanislavovich was shot as a man who knew too much. In order not to have time to write other "excerpts" about German gold for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

And today we cannot definitely say how close

we were the relations of Lenin and the Bolsheviks with the authorities of Germany and Austria-Hungary. This is not the place to discuss the question of "German gold" that made the Russian revolution. I will only say what is absolutely indisputable. Lenin and his party received significant funds from the German treasury as their primary source. These funds were intended primarily for propaganda work in Russia, the publication of legal and illegal magazines and newspapers. One of the intermediate links in the chain along which the money flowed was the Russian and German Social Democrat Parvus (Gelfand), the same one who, justifying marital infidelity to his wife

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fidelity, cited Karl Marx as an example. And the other link, with which Lenin was already in direct contact, was Ganetsky. However, there is evidence that Lenin also met with Parvus - in Bern in 1915. Although Ilyich himself more than once denounced him as a swindler, opportunist and traitor, and did not feel any sympathy for the Social Democrat, who had turned into a successful businessman. Directly, Lenin did not give receipts that he received German money. On the way to the Bolsheviks, stamps passed through several firms and banks in several countries and became depersonalized.

And, of course, the German General Staff did not require any receipts or obligations. After all, he did not give money for shant. For business. The Germans did not doubt at all that the Bolsheviks would gradually disintegrate the Russian rear and front. God willing, this work will bring the revolution closer, and with it the victory of the Central Powers. It was impossible to foresee that even Russia's falling away from the Entente would be insufficient for a German victory, even in 1917. Lenin, concluding the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918, calculated the imminent defeat of Germany and Austria-Hungary very accurately. And he was a winner.

Researchers have long noticed that in the middle of 1914, in his correspondence with Inessa, Armand Lenin suddenly switched from an intimately friendly "you" to a more official "you". Others say that for the first time the appeal "you" Ilyich mentioned in a letter written around September 28, 1914. This statement is incorrect. The fact is that the said letter is written in English. And this language allows only one form - "you" (woch). The appeal to "you" is basically impossible here. If we take the first letter in Russian, in which Ilyich addressed Inessa as "you", then it is dated January 17, 1915. Moreover, although the letter is written in Russian, it begins with an English address: "Oeag elen4! (Dear friend). And the content of the letter is simply amazing! Lenin writes to Inessa about the freedom of love! No more and no less.

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Armand sent Ilyich a plan for a pamphlet she was going to write on this subject. Lenin criticized this plan: "5 3 -" the demand for (female) freedom of love "I advise you to throw it out altogether. This is indeed not a proletarian, but a bourgeois demand. In fact, what do you understand by it? What can be understood by this?

1. Freedom from material (financial) calculations in the matter of love?
2. The same from material concerns?
3. From religious prejudices?
4. From papa's ban?
5. From the prejudices of "society"?
6. From the narrow environment (peasant or philistine or intellectual-bourgeois) environment?
7. From the bonds of law, court and police?
8. From serious in love?
9. From childbearing?
10. Freedom of adultery? etc.

I have listed many (not all, of course) shades. You understand, of course, not Nos. 8-10, but either Nos. 1-7 or something like Nos. 1-7.

But for Nos. 1-7, a different designation must be chosen, for the freedom of love does not exactly express this thought. And the public, the readers of the pamphlet, will inevitably understand by "freedom of love" in general something like Nos. 8-10, even against your will.

Precisely because in modern society the most garrulous, noisy and "high-profile" classes are understood by "freedom of love" Nos. 8-10, precisely for this reason this is not a proletarian, but a bourgeois demand. For the proletariat, the most important thing is No. 1-2, and then No. 1-7, and this, in fact, is not "freedom of love"

It's not that you subjectively "want to understand" by this. It is a matter of the objective logic of class relations in matters of love.

The letter ends with a signature in English: "Ene4@u zVaKe Vap4z! W. 1." (I shake hands in a friendly way! V.I.). I think that the English phrases at the beginning and at the end of Lenin's letter

made it clear to Inessa: the transition to "you" in their correspondence was a necessity. As in English, where the pronouns "you"

simply no.

Arguments against "freedom of love" did not convince Inessa, about which she wrote to Lenin. Therefore, in the next letter, dated January 24, 1915, Vladimir Ilyich decided to continue the dispute: "In order to make the unclear clear, I listed about a dozen possible (and inevitable in an atmosphere of class discord) different interpretations ... If this is to be refuted, then it is necessary to show : (1) that these interpretations are wrong (then replace them with others or mark the wrong ones) or (2) incomplete (then add the missing) or (3) are not so divided into prolstar and bourgeois.

Neither one, nor the other, nor the third you do. Points 1-7 you do not touch. So, do you recognize them (in general) correctness? (What you write about the prostitution of the proletariat rock and their dependence: "the impossibility of saying no" does not quite fit p. 1-7. Disagreements cannot be seen here in anything.) lethargic interpretation.

Remain pp. 8-10. You "do not understand them a little" and "object": "I don't understand how it is possible (as it is written!) to identify (!!32) freedom of love with" p. Are you going to smash and smash me? Like this? What is this? The bourgeois understand by freedom of love pp. 8-10 is my thesis. Are you denying him? Tell me, what do bourgeois ladies mean by freedom of love?

You don't say it. Do not literature and life prove that the bourgeoisie understand this precisely? Completely prove it! You silently acknowledge it. And if so, the point here is their class position, and it is hardly possible and almost naive to refute them.

We must clearly separate them from them, counterpose them with the proletarian point of view. It is necessary to take into account the objective fact that otherwise they will snatch the appropriate passages from your

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pamphlets, they will interpret them in their own way, they will turn your pamphlet into water for their own mill, they will distort your thoughts in front of the workers, they will "confuse" the workers (by sowing fear in them that you are not bringing them other people's ideas). And in their hands there are a lot of newspapers, etc.

And you, having completely forgotten the objective and class point of view, go over to an "attack" on me, as if I "identify" the freedom of love with Mon. 8-10... Wonderful, she-she, wonderful..

"Even a fleeting passion and connection" is "more poetic and purer" than the "loveless kisses" of (vulgar and vulgar) spouses. That's how you write. And so you are going to write in bronpore. Wonderful.

Is it a logical opposition? Kisses without love

you have vulgar spouses are dirty. Agree. They need to be opposed ... what? ... It would seem: kisses with love? And you contrast "fleeting" (why fleeting?) "passion" (why not love?) - it turns out, logically, that kisses without love (fleeting) are contrasted by kisses without love with marital kisses ... Strange. For a popular pamphlet, wouldn't it be better to contrast the petty-bourgeois-intellectual-peasant (seem to be item 6 or item 5 for me) vulgar and dirty marriage without love with the proletarian civil marriage with love (with the addition, if you really want to, that and a fleeting connection-passion can be dirty, maybe clean). What you came up with is not a contrast between class types and ranks, but something like an "incident", which is possible, of course. But is it about incidents? If we take the theme: an incident, an individual case of dirty kisses in marriage and clean kisses in a fleeting relationship, this theme must be developed in the novel (for here the whole point is in the individual situation, in the analysis of the characters and psyche of these types). And in the brochure...

Really, I don't want polemics at all. I would gladly discard this letter of mine and postpone the matter until the conversation. But I want the brochure to be good, so that no one can snatch phrases that are unpleasant for you (sometimes one phrase is enough to be a fly in the ointment ...),

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reinterpret. I am sure that you didn't write here "against your will", and I am only sending this letter because maybe you will analyze the plan in more detail in connection with the letters than with regard to conversations, and after all, the plan is a very important thing.

Do you know a French socialist? Translate to her (supposedly from English) my paragraphs. 1-10 and your remarks about the "fleeting", etc. and look at it, listen to it more carefully: a little experience, what people from the outside will say, what are their impressions, their expectations from the brochure: "

Poor Ilyich! Even in such a delicate sphere as love, he could not renounce the questions of the class struggle. Analyzing what the woman who loved him and loved by him was going to write on this subject, Lenin was not least concerned about not pouring water on the mill to the class enemy. Suddenly, the adversary somehow interprets the words of Inessa in his favor, and even disorients the workers in such a vitally important issue. The leader of the Bolsheviks imagined a proletarian marriage as something ideal, not earthly, almost never found in real life. And to put it another way, Ilyich had never come across the proletariat, he knew his life at best from literature, artistic and journalistic. Inessa, on the other hand, from transcendental heights, judging by the quotations from her message cited in Lenin's letter, descended to the sinful earth. After all, she knew the life of the workers at the Armandov Pushkin factory well, she knew that their relationship with each other was by no means ideal and

in comparison with the relations among the peasants or the intelligentsia, they do not differ in any way for the better. That is why she wrote about proletarian prostitution, about the dependence of proletarian women on owners and managers, the impossibility of resisting the sexual harassment of those who work in factories.

who has power.

Lenin, it seems, never experienced "fleeting passion" and had little understanding of what it was. Ideally, he probably considered love in marriage. But itself is beautiful

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If he experienced a feeling, then, I think, not with Nadia, but only with Lisa and Inessa. For Ilyich, "a fleeting passion" is rather something "dirty" rather than "clean." Inessa had much more love experience and the experience of a full-fledged family life, with the upbringing of children. She knew that true love could be for life and for short moments. Lenin wrote about "free love" in official-legal language (the legal education he received had an effect). The plan of the pamphlet drawn up by Inessa and her letters to Lenin have not reached us. But even from a few quotations, one can judge that she wrote passionately on this subject, trying to reach the hearts of future readers - working women.

Already after the October Revolution, in 1919, Inesa Armand partially realized the idea of a pamphlet on the problems of love and marriage in the article "Marx and Engels on the Question of Family and Marriage", published in the collection "The Communist Party and the Organization of Working Women". She wrote: "Have we already realized entirely new forms of the family? Have 'relationships between the two sexes been transformed into purely private relations ... in which society has nothing to interfere'? Has prostitution been abolished? Is public education of children carried out? No, not quite yet. We are living through a period of transition, when many ruins of the old capitalist edifice still remain. With one blow, all at once, we were unable to sweep away all the painful remnants of bourgeois family relations. But now we can and must take steps towards the complete abolition of the 'community of wives', i.e., official and unofficial prostitution - this most striking manifestation of the rule of capital, which, under the condition of proletarian power, cannot be tolerated. We must and we have already begun to introduce public education of children and destroy the power of parents over children. We can and must already now reduce to a minimum - still necessary for future children - the intervention of the state in the matter of termination and conclusion

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marriages and, in this sense, to revise the decree on marriages, which, having completely eliminated the need for intervention

church, still retained the intervention of the state in the conclusion and dissolution of marriages and the power of parents over children (for example, the right of parents to determine with which of them the child will live during a divorce). If the liberation of women is unthinkable without communism, then communism is unthinkable without the complete liberation of women.

Perhaps Inessa believed that the "new forms" and the transformation of sexual relations into "purely private" would help her and Ilyich finally unite? She took into account Lenin's criticism, did not put forward the slogan of "free love" and did not oppose "fleeting passion" to "bourgeois marriage". On the other hand, she pursued the idea of the need for public education of children and, ideally, their complete liberation from the power of their parents, although she did not cherish her soul in her children and even tried to find an opportunity in emigration, albeit not for long, but to be with them. Inessa understood perfectly well what motherly affection meant for children, which no "public education" could replace. But she considered herself obligated to follow Marxist dogmas. And she repeated the meaningless slogan: about communism as a condition for the complete emancipation of women and about the complete emancipation of women as a necessary condition for communism. If you think about it, it turns out that neither one nor the other can be achieved in principle. After all, before communism can be achieved, women must be freed. And in order to free them, we must first build communism. A vicious circle is obtained. I do not think that Lenin and Armand seriously considered how to get out of it. When pamphlets were written for the people, they did not really think about the logic of the arguments. The main thing is that it should be written in simple language and more vizma confirms the correctness.

Historians who argue that there was no adultery (or No. 10, to use the wonderful Leninist terminology) argue that the transition to more

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Lenin's official "you" made it clear to Armand that her hopes for reciprocity were unfounded, that their relationship would never advance further than friendship and would never pass into love, all the more serious. I think that in reality it was quite the opposite. When the relationship was only friendly, Lenin quite freely addressed Inessa as "you". But when Ilyich realized that he had fallen in love with his correspondent, when something appeared that had to be hidden from others, he felt the need to switch to "you" in his letters. So that Nadezhda Konstantinov, who could read the letters, needlessly not worry and upset. And this change took place in relations with Inessa, I emphasize, shortly after Vladimir Ilyich parted forever with Elizabeth K.

As early as the very beginning of June 1914, probably before meeting Liza, Lenin criticized in detail the novel by the Ukrainian Social Democrat, written by Inessa.

tel Vladimir Vinnichenko "The Testaments of the Fathers": "I have read this hour, that eag En4 (my dear friend), Vinnichenko's new novel that you sent. That's nonsense and stupidity! Put together as many "horrors" as possible, put together "vice", and "syphilis", and romantic villainy with extortion of money for a secret (and with the transformation of the sister of the robbed subject into a mistress), and the trial of the doctor! All this with hysterics, twists and turns, with claims to "their own" theory of the organization of prostitutes. This organization does not represent anything bad, but it is the author, Vinnichenko himself, who makes an absurdity out of it, savoring it, turning

em in the "horse".

In "Speech" about the novel it is said that imitation of Dostoevsky and what is good. Imitation is, in my opinion, also an archaic imitation of the archaic Dostoevsky (Legends of the Grand Inquisitor and "Demons" Vladimir Ilyich could not forgive Fyodor Mikhailovich in any case. - B.S.). One by one, of course, in life everything happens from the horrors of owls that Vinnichenko describes. But put them all together

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in the same way, it means to paint horrors, to frighten both one's imagination and the reader, to "beat" oneself and him.

I once had to spend the night with a sick (delirium tremens) comrade - and once "persuade" a comrade who attempted suicide (after the attempt) and subsequently, a few years later, ended in suicide. Both memories are a la Vinnichenko. But in both cases, these were small pieces of the life of both comrades. And this pretentious terry fool Vinnichenko, admiring himself, made from here a collection entirely of horror owls - a kind of "2p horror". Brrr ... Dregs, nonsense yes, it's a shame that I wasted time reading.

R. 5. How are things going with your arrangements for the summer?

Your V.I. wotz

a voiz Evspeg ots pop?" (Tell me frankly, are you still angry with yourself or not?

(fr.). - B.S.

This is a letter from a friend, not a lover. Even the word "mistress" is used here in a clearly negative context. Inessa probably liked Vinnichenko's novel on the whole. Otherwise, she would not have taken up Lenin's precious time by recommending that Vladimir Ilyich read The Testaments of the Tsov. Perhaps Inessa was attracted by the theme of "organizing prostitutes", getting rid of their vicious craft. After all, once she herself tried to re-educate the "priestesses of love". But Lenin, apparently, was repelled by too detailed,

in his opinion, a description of "vice". At that time, Vinnichenko's works were called almost "pornography". Today, these novels are perceived as things quite innocent. But Ilyich, it seems, adhered to extremely conservative, if not to say sanctimonious, views on these matters. And "horrors" could not stand, even in literature. True, after the 17th year there were a lot of horrors in Russia, and Lenin had a direct connection with many of them. But this is another matter. He only gave orders, oral and written.

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information about the murder of the royal family or the execution of thousands and thousands of hostages and those suspected of counterrevolution. Ilyich never saw any of his victims in person. And their suffering could only be imagined from literature, from the novels of the same Dostoevsky.

The sentence, written in French, no doubt refers to his "parting." Obviously, in one of the letters, Inessa scolded herself for being too passionate in the message that she sent to Ilyich at the end of 1913. And he consoled her.

But here is another letter. Lenin wrote it to Inessa at the beginning of July 1914, shortly after parting with Elizaveta K.: "Never, never have I written that I value only three women. Never!!! I wrote that my most boundless friendship, absolute respect and trust is devoted to only 2-3 women. It's a completely different, very, very different thing.

I hope we'll see each other here after the convention and talk about it. Please bring all our letters when you arrive (that is, bring them with you) (it is not convenient to send them registered here: a registered letter can be opened quite easily by friends. - And so on ...) Please bring all the letters come and talk about it."

Due to the outbreak of war, Inessa was unable to come to Poronin. And we don't know if she ever returned Leni's letters. And those three women mentioned by Ilyich are most likely Nadezhda Krupskaya, Elizaveta K. and Inessa Armand. But why did Lenin this time speak vaguely and uncertainly: two or three? Perhaps because by that time some of the women had already lost their boundless friendship, absolute respect and trust, and, perhaps, the love of the leader. It could have been either Krupskaya or Elizaveta K.

And already in the middle of July, in a letter, quite businesslike, at first glance, to Inessa, which deals with the report of the Central Committee, which Armand was supposed to read out in Brussels before the International Socialist Bureau, Ilyich suddenly

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leads to quite lyrical reasoning (in English): "Oh, I would like to kiss you a thousand times, greet you and wish you success: I am quite sure that you will win." It's too much like a confession of a lover. Although further, also in English, again purely business questions - that all expenses will be paid from the party fund, when you need to arrive in Brussels, etc.

Inessa had to convince the International Socialist Bureau that only the Bolsheviks represented the Russian Social Democracy, and that the other factions did not enjoy any support from the workers and did not deserve any trust. Lenin needed international recognition for his leadership. But not only. From the recognition of the Bolsheviks as the only representatives of the Russian Social Democracy depended on the transfer only to them of all the "holder" money from the Schmitt inheritance, which was at the disposal of the SME. And Ilyich attached great importance to Inessa's report. He really hoped that the one who loves him and whom he loved would not let him down. In the same letter, Lenin especially emphasized: "I am sure that you are one of those people who develop, grow stronger, become stronger and more courageous when they are alone in a responsible post."

Now Vladimir Ilyich did not object to Inessa being next to him and Krupskaya. Moreover, Inessa maintained excellent relations with Nadezhda Konstantinovna. So, in the spring of 1914, Armand jokingly reproached Krupskaya: "How long have you not written to me, dear! Shame on you to forget me and not write! Write quickly!"

In the autumn of 1914, all three met again in Bern. Nadezhda Konstantinovna recalled this quite calmly, in an idyllic description of Swiss nature, without exposing the inner drama of the situation: "We lived on Distelweg - a small, clean, quiet street adjoining the Bernese forest, which stretched for several kilometers. Inessa lived diagonally from us, the Zinovievs were five minutes away, and the Shklovskys ten minutes away. We

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for hours they wandered along the forest roads, strewn with yellow leaves showering. For the most part there were three of us—Vladimir Ilyich and Inessa and I. Vladimir Ilyich developed his plans for international struggle. Inessa took it all to heart. In this unfolding struggle, she began to take a most direct part: she corresponded, translated our various documents into French and English, collected materials, talked to people, etc. Sometimes we sat for hours on the sunny slope of a mountain covered with bushes. Ilyich jotted down summaries of his speeches and articles, perfected the wording, I studied Italian according to Toussaint. Inessa sewed some kind of skirt and warmed herself with pleasure in the autumn

sunshine..."

I suspect that quite often Ilyich and Inessa walked together, without Krupskaya. And then it certainly was not only about the international position and prospects of the Russian Social Democracy. Although about this too. As we have already seen from the example of Elizabeth K., even when conversing with the woman he loved, Lenin could not avoid the problems of the class struggle. True, the fiasco with Lisa might have taught Ilyich something. It is possible that their "tete-a-tete" with Inessa went differently. They talked about abstract things, about love, kissed, hugged ...

In March 1915, grief befell Krupskaya. Her mother died. Nadezhda Konstantinovna recalled Elizaveta Vasilyevna with bright sadness: "She was a close comrade who helped in all the work ... She ran the household, looked after the comrades who came and came to us ... Comrades loved her. The last winter was very hard for her. All strength is gone. She was drawn to Russia, but we had no one there who would take care of her. They often argued with Vladimir Ilyich, but his mother always took care of him, Vladimir was also attentive to her. Once, somehow, the mother sits sad. She was a desperate smoker, and then she forgot to buy a piros, and it was a holiday, nowhere could you get tobacco.

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Ilyich saw this: "What a disaster, now I'll get it," and he went to look for cigarettes in a cafe, found it, brought it to his mother. Somehow, shortly before her death, my mother said to me: "No, really, I won't go to Russia alone, I'll go with you." Another time she spoke about religion. She considered herself a believer, but she did not go to church for years, she did not fast, she did not pray, and in general religion did not play any role in her life; but she didn't like talking about this topic, and then she says: "I believed in my youth, but as I lived, I got to know life, I saw: it's all such trifles." More than once she ordered that when she died, they would burn her. The little house where we lived was near the Bern forest itself. And when the spring sun began to warm, the mother was pulled into the forest. We went with her, sat on the bench for half an hour, and then she barely got home, and the next day her agony began. We did just as she wanted, burned her in the Bernese crematorium. Vladimir Ilyich and I sat in the cemetery, and two hours later the watchman brought us a tin mug with ashes and showed us where to bury the ashes in the ground. Krupskaya's mother died on March 11/24, 1915. Maybe that's why she asked to be burned after her death, because she hoped that someday her remains would be transferred to her homeland. It is still easier to transport an urn to distant lands than a coffin. And, indeed, in 1969, by order of the Central Committee of the CPSU, her ashes were transferred from Bern to Leningrad.

From the story of Krupskaya, one might get the impression that Elizaveta Vasilievna died almost an atheist. But that was hardly the case. Nadezhda Konstantinovna herself, like Vladimir Ilyich, did not believe in God and had a very negative attitude towards religion. And in memoirs, pre-

appointed, including for the education of the younger generation, voluntarily or involuntarily sought in every possible way to reduce the religiosity of the mother. The mother really did not want to upset her daughter and son-in-law. Probably, she prayed and went to church (I don't know if there was an Orthodox church in Bern, perhaps I had to attend a Lutheran one). She just didn't advertise it and tried to keep her prayers out of bounds.

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nali Nadia and Ilyich. Yes, and the words of Elizaveta Vasilievna, spoken shortly before her death, can be interpreted in such a way that she was only convinced that religion does not play such a significant role in people's lives as it once seemed to a young girl. God does not prevent suffering, does not make life easier.

The fact that the mother was still a believer is confirmed by the following incident described by Krupskaya: "Our life has become even more student-like. The landlady, a religiously believing old ironer, asked us to find another room for herself, she supposedly wants believers to rent her room. We moved to another room." This means that the landlady had no doubt that Elizaveta Vasilievna believed in God. The student life of the Ulyanovs became because Nadezhda Konstantinovna did not really learn how to run a household. After the death of her mother, she had to give up homemade food in favor of cheap canteens.

I believe that in the last months of her life, Elizaveta Vasilievna felt that her daughter had a dangerous rival, who was winning the heart of Vladimir Ilyich more and more. I don't know if Lenin had conversations with his mother-in-law on this subject. Most likely no. Elizaveta Vasilievna was a smart woman and understood that she was powerless here. Words won't do anything anyway. You can't tell your heart. All that remains is to wait and hope: perhaps in time Ilyich's love for Nadya will be revived. But Krupskaya's mother was not destined to live to see the denouement of this story.

After the death of her mother, Nadezhda Konstantinovna's Graves' disease worsened from a nervous shock. Vladi Mir Ilyich went with his wife to a sanatorium located in the town of Zerenberg near the foothills of the Alps. Krupskaya liked it here. She wrote to one of her friends: "... It's not bad here, the same slides as in Poronin, there are more distant walks. Pretty beautiful and quite deserted, since bigengere is 16 kilometers from the railway to

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horns. We live in a boarding house, about 30 Swiss people still live here, but we have a special dining room and live like at home.

Come, we will be very happy. I am now almost

she is healthy to everyone, her nerves are finally in order, in general, on this side, safely. The rain is pouring here, as in Po ronin, but the work is decent, so there is no time to be bored ... "

Soon Inessa joined them. Nadezhda Konstantinovna recalled: "It was very good to study in Zerenberg. After some time, Inessa came to us there. We got up early and before dinner, which was given, as in all of Switzerland, at 12 o'clock, each of us worked in his corner in the garden. Inessa often played the piano during these hours, and studied especially well to the sounds of the music coming from her. After lunch, sometimes they went to the mountains for the whole day. Ilyich was very fond of mountains, in the evening he liked to climb up the slopes of the Rothorn, when there was a wonderful view above, and pink mist underfoot, or to wander along the Strattenfluh - such a mountain was two kilometers from us, "damned steps" - we translated. It was impossible to climb its flat top in any way - the mountain was covered with some kind of stones corroded by spring streams. Rothorn was seldom climbed, although it offered a wonderful view of the Alps. We went to bed with roosters, picked alpine roses, berries, everyone was desperate mushroom pickers - there were a lot of white mushrooms, but along with them there were many other mushroom growths, and we argued so passionately, defining varieties, that one might think - it's about some principled resolution.

Absolutely idyllic picture! Only there are grounds for believing that Krupskaya's nerves in Serenberg were not all that well. After all, she could not help but see that her husband was becoming more and more attached to Inessa.

However, Armand was far from being in an idyllic mood, she was very homesick for her children, for Russia. From Zerenberg she wrote to her daughter Inessa: "There are no roots in a foreign land, and you live, as it were, in an airless space - and therefore it becomes stuffy." And in the same letter she confessed:

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"I love looking at you. Both of you (daughters Inessa and Varya. - B.S.) are so beautiful with me. There is still a lot of instinct in the feeling of motherhood, a lot that has passed to women from female mothers - by the way, this is the desire to see in their children something better than all other children, but still it is not true that mothers are blind. They, on the contrary, painfully experience all the shortcomings, all the flaws in their children, they see them through a magnifying glass. And you never hurt me."

Inessa loved her children no less than Lenin. And perhaps her love for children even prevented her from uniting with Ilyich? Because of the subconscious fear that when Lenin will always be there, he will already take away all the ss love and there will be no left for children

Alexander Solzhenitsyn in the documentary "Lenin in Zurich" conveys inner experiences in this way

Krupskaya during the last emigration: "I brought up a sequence in myself: not to deviate Volodya from the path not by a hair - not by a hair. Always make his life easier - and never embarrass. Always be present - and every minute, as if she were not there, if it is not necessary ... Do not allow yourself a bad word about your opponent, when you have something to say. It is joyful to meet her as a friend - so as not to damage either Volodya's mood or the position among his comrades ... "Another Russian writer, Mark Aldanov, in the novel *Suicide* saw the situation through the eyes of Lenin: "He thought about Inessa - and troubles were at hand filmed. Everything was filled with light. Now it sometimes (very rarely) seemed to him as if he had not understood something in life before. He immediately drove away this absurd thought: what relation could love have to the matter! He was very lively and cheerful ... Lord Kitchener made his noisy prediction: the war would last three years. In Switzerland, of course, it became known to Lenin and made an impression on him. He hated generals almost as much as he hated members of the Second International, but he valued good specialists and listened to their opinions.

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His feelings were ambivalent. The longer the war lasts, the greater the chances of a revolution. But why wait three years? He could have died before that, without waiting for the revolution! Hatred, which had always occupied a huge place in his life, now simply overwhelmed his soul. People, even the most devoted supporters, became everything against her - almost everyone except Inessa and his wife.

And here is how Marcel Bodi, a former employee of the Soviet ambassador to Norway Alexandra Kollontai (she was a friend of Inessa Armand), draws the relationship in the Lenin-Armand-Krupskaya triangle. Bodie served as the first secretary at the embassy, and they often walked with Kollontai around Oslo. Once the conversation turned to the early death of Lenin. "He could not survive Inessa Armand," said Alexandra Mikhailovna. And she added: "The death of Inesa hastened his illness, which became fatal. "Inessa?" wondered Bodie, who had never heard the name before. "Yes," Kollontai confirmed. - When in 1921 (in fact - in 1920 - B.S.) her body was brought from the Caucasus, where she died of typhus, we followed the coffin, and it was impossible to recognize Lenin. He walked with his eyes closed, and it seemed that he was about to fall. Alexandra Mikhailovna added that Krupskaya was fully aware of the relationship between Lenin and Armand, knew that Ilyich was strongly attached to Inessa, and expressed her readiness to leave in order to make room for a successful rival. But Lenin kept Nadia from this step.

Body's message was commented on by the English historian Louis Fisher: "Krupskaya would have stayed with Lenin for the same reasons as many other wives in similar circumstances. But besides, he was not only her husband, and perhaps not primarily a husband, but a political leader, and she sacrificed herself for his sake.

needs, even if one of the needs was Inessa. Staying with Lenin meant serving the communist movement, her strongest passion. Wives often subordinate their personal lives to their husband's career, even if he is a man.

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century much less significant than Lenin. In the end, he asked her not to leave. But if she had asked to leave, she would have left without saying a word, without shedding a tear, simply in order of party discipline.

And Nikolai Valentinov, already familiar to us, described Lenin's romance with Inessa as follows: "Lenin was deeply carried away, let's say, in love with Inessa Armand, his companion in the Bolshevik party. In love, of course, in his own way, that is, probably, a kiss between the conversation about the betrayal of the Mensheviks and the resolution stigmatizing the capitalist sharks and imperialism ... bright and interesting than the rather colorless Krupskaya. Lenin valued in Inessa fieryness, energy, a very firm character, perseverance...

Did Krupskaya know about the relationship between Lenin and Inessa? It was impossible not to know, it was hard not to notice. According to... Kollontai... Marcel Bodi reports that Krupskaya wanted to "detach", but Lenin did not go, could not go to such a break. "Stay," he asked ... Lenin did not want to part with the past, he loved Krupskaya and at the same time Inessa - there are two parallel feelings. Life turned out not to fit into the so-called "revolutionary" declarations of Kolosov (meaning the protagonist of Turgenev's story of the same name, which Lenin liked, who leaves the girl he fell out of love with, and his declaration about the need to break with a past love in time: "Oh, gentlemen, a man who parted with a woman who was somehow beloved, at that bitter and great moment when he involuntarily realizes that his heart is not all, not completely imbued with her, this man, believe me, understands holiness better and deeper love than those faint-hearted people who, out of boredom, out of weakness, continue to play on the half-torn strings of their sluggish and sensitive hearts." - B. S.), nothing about "proletarian marriage" and "class point of view". It is impossible not to note what Krupskaya later showed,

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quite special, the courage of self-forgetfulness. Under her editorship, a collection of articles dedicated to the "Memory of Inessa Armand" was published, and she placed her portrait and warm lines about her in her memoirs. This demanded the memory of Lenin. Not every woman could forget herself like that ... "

The last director of the Central Lenin Museum Vla-

Dimir Melnichenko, driven by the concern to prove that Ilyich was incapable of adultery and that there was nothing reprehensible between him and Inesoy, not even kisses, Kollontai subjected the testimony to the most serious opinion: "It is hardly worth trusting this information literally. There was no Kollontai or Bodi next to the three that autumn. What he wrote in forty years after the events from other people's words, naturally, should be questioned, especially in such a delicate issue. Ilyich could hardly say to his wife just like this: "Stay." This is not a Leninist syllable. This was thought up, it would seem, in accordance with the situation. But in fact, the situation was just different. It didn't even occur to Lenin to part with his wife, so if Krupskaya started a conversation on this topic, Lenin couldn't ask her to stay, most likely, her husband could say that he would have to part with Inessa. At least, that's exactly what he did, so as not to hurt his wife ... "

Well, as to whether Lenin said to Krupskaya: "Stay," or chose some other words, we, of course, cannot know. After all, Bodie published his story about meetings with Kollontai in 1952 in the French magazine Rtenuez. In the reverse translation from French, Lenin's words were almost certainly not conveyed in the same way as they literally sounded in Russian. In addition, Kollontai told Bodie about the history of Armand and Lenin several decades after their death and could hardly remember the details. Indeed, neither she nor Marcel Bodi was near Lenin either in France or in Switzerland; as they say, they did not hold candles at his meetings with Armand. And hearing

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The whole story of Alexandra Mikhailovna must have come from Inessa herself. The same about the failed divorce was told, of course, not by Krupskaya, but by Lenin. And the very fact that he told her this proves that after the "parting" in Poland, Inessa and Ilyich reunited in Switzerland, not just as comrades in the struggle and not even as close friends, but as intimate friends, in other words - lover nicky. Body does not say anything exactly where and when Krupskaya suggested that Lenin leave, in Paris and Krakow, even before the World War, or in Bern, after it began. I am still sure that it was in Bern that Nadezhda Konstantinovna suggested to Vladimir Ilyich that Inessa make room. And about any "resignation" for Inssa, of course, this time there was no talk. Lenin simply did not want to upset Nadya, with whom he had lived for a decade and a half. As a woman, she evidently had not worried Ilyich for a long time. But he undoubtedly retained warm comradely feelings for Krupskaya. And Nadezhda Konstantinovna became almost indispensable as an assistant, performing the functions of secretary and referent. Obviously, the situation then suited everyone. Krupskaya did nothing to prevent the meetings between Lenin and Inessa. Ilyich, in turn, sparing his wife's vanity, did not advertise his connection with Armand. And Krupskaya was enough

she is clever so as not to make scenes with Armand and not to break with her the friendly relations that had developed even in Paris, under other circumstances.

Yes, Nadezhda Konstantinovna was right when she said about Lenin: "He could never fall in love with a woman with whom he disagreed in views, who would not be a work comrade." Elizabeth K. never became a like-minded person and workmate, and her connection with William Frey faded away. Nadezhda Konstantinovna herself never had any political differences with her husband. Lenin's business has always been hers too. The position of the party leader's wife to some extent satisfied Krupskaya's ambition. Moreover, both she and Lenin believed: sooner or later

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the Bolsheviks will come to power. And to be the wife of the head of one of the largest states in the world is immeasurably more honorable than the role of the wife of the leader of an opposition party, forced to live in exile. In addition, Krupskaya knew that for Lenin she had long been no longer a beloved woman, but only a close comrade at work. And she felt: if she only expressed a point of view on some important political issue, different from the point of view of her husband, and their union could very soon fall apart.

Inessa Armand put her relationship with Vladimir Ilyich to the test at least once. And, as in the case of Liza, the matter concerned the slogan put forward by Lenin to defeat the "own" government in the world war. As early as October 17, 1914, he wrote to A.G. Shlyannikov, who acted as a liaison between the Foreign and Russian Bureau of the Central Committee of the RSDLP: "The slogan 'peace' is incorrect - the slogan should be the transformation of the national war into a civil war ... In order for the struggle to proceed along a precise and clear line, a slogan generalizing it is needed. This slogan: for us Russians, from the point of view of the interests of the toiling masses and the working class of Russia, there cannot be the slightest doubt, absolutely no doubt, that the least evil now and immediately would be the defeat of tsarism in this war. For tsarism is a hundred times worse than kaiserism."

Everything was perfectly clear to Ilyich: the defeat of the tsarist army could lead to the fall of the autocracy and thereby facilitate the task of the Russian revolutionaries. The fact that hundreds of thousands and even millions of Russian soldiers would die in this defeat was of little concern to Lenin. What can any sacrifice mean in comparison with the coming triumph of the revolution! Inessa had a different point of view. Frenchwoman Armand has long felt like a Russian. And the sufferings of the Russian people were by no means indifferent to her. In general, women perceive any war much more tragically than men. In the soldiers dying on the "fronts, drunk with blood" they see sons, brothers, husbands...

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And Inessa, moreover, could not help but understand that the defeat of Russia could also cause the defeat of her homeland - France. The Bolshevik Ivan Fyodorovich Popov, who knew Armand at that time, who left the party after 1917, but became the author of one of the most popular Soviet plays about the Ulyanov family with the modest title *The Family*, told the writer Larissa Vasilyeva many years later: My life was connected with Inessa very strongly, I would say, vitally, to death. At a certain period in our lives, in 1916, we decided together with her: our views on the revolution required revision.

We did not talk to anyone, only to each other, but both came to the conclusion that Lenin was too categorical in his judgments, he was going too far. Both believed that the fatherland must be defended. Then Inessa reminded me of Lenin's revenge on the Romanovs for his brother and suggested that there were many personal things in his attitude towards the autocracy.

And I remembered how Lenin, when he was with me in Brussels, once told me that he was leaving on a boat along the Volga with his brother Sasha, and a song spread over the river. He remembered the executed Sasha, paused, and suddenly, as if to himself, without addressing me, read a stanza from Pushkin's ode "Liberty":

Domineering villain! I hate you,
your throne, Your death, the death of
children With cruel joy I see.

Inessa gave birth six times (in fact, five, but Larisa Vasilyeva remembered exactly what Popov said exactly "six times"; perhaps from such reservations there are legends about Inessa's sixth child, allegedly from Lenin. - B.S.), she Like mothers, Pushkin's lines suddenly seemed terrible, and the fact that Lenin quoted them in connection with the recollection of Sasha.

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We talked with her for a long time. She decided that she would write to Lenin about her doubts. She wrote, received an answer, after which she told me: "Go away, Jean, go away and don't look back. You are young, weak in character, poetic. This whole life is not for you. Write books and love life if you can. And I have nowhere to go. I am under his hypnosis forever. I can't do otherwise. If I retreat, then all my sacrifices were in vain, and my life was in vain.

It is worth pointing out that in his correspondence with Armand Lenin repeatedly expressed dissatisfaction with Popov, and in

sharp form. Ivan Fedorovich himself spoke about this to Larisa Vasilyeva: "Then I had a complete love collapse - the daughter of my landlady Jeanne, for whom I was dying, was going to marry another. A decent, respectable Belgian. Then I did not understand how she preferred me to someone. Me! Pitiful emigrant, political exile! But really, I, a fool, thought - you can love me just like that. Never. And Lenin on that day (January 25, 1914, when he visited Popov in Bryussel. - B.S.) felt that I was in trouble: "Are you something a little wrong? Are you upset about something? Where is the reason? "There is no reason." "If it is true that you do not know the reason, so much the worse. You always have to find a reason. And eliminate it quickly. Yes, you yourself know this, but you are hiding something and being cunning.

I didn't want to tell him about my love troubles. And I hung up the conversation. It was only on the eve of his departure that Lenin suddenly asked me: "Why did I never meet Madame Artz's daughter during this visit? Where is Jeanne? Have you gone somewhere?" "Am I Zhanna's watchman, Vladimir Ilyich? Yes, and let's not talk about it. It's not worth it

our attention."

At the door of the apartment, we unexpectedly ran into the landlady and Jeanne. Both accompanied the guest. When they went upstairs to my room, I said: "Well, you met Zhanna. It was her fiancé, she is getting married." I became

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strike matches to light a gas lamp, and I vomited: "How I would like to run away from here, so as not to see, not to hear anything!" Vladimir Ilyich did not respond to this in any way. Opening the suitcase, he said, "Don't be late for the train. You go downstairs, pay for me with the hostess, and I'll make tea. And do not get up, but I will turn off the gas, I will close the room, and we will meet below.

I accompanied him to the station, put him on the train, returned, entering the room and turning on the light, I saw in the middle of the table for a squeak. There is money on the note. "You need to get out of here," wrote Lenin. The word "should" was underlined twice. - Go immediately to the family of Inessa Armand, they left for the west coast (France. - B.S.) in Saint-Jean-de-Monts. Relax there, relax. I am telegraphing your arrival de. Knowing that you, as always, have no money, I leave you two hundred francs. And behind the signature there was another postscript, in smaller handwriting - there was little space left on the paper: "And I advise you to drown your troubles in the ocean" ... Drowned. Inesa and I got to work."

A perfect idyll in which Lenin appears as a kind magician from a children's fairy tale. But in letters to Armand about the love story of Popov, Ilyich spoke not at all so delicately, since he still could not translate the report for the Brussels meeting with the International

People's Socialist Bureau. "Do you know what happened to Popov in Brussels? Lenin wrote on March 2, 1914. - He does not answer me for 2-3 weeks (!!) on urgent and important letters. And I need him! Didn't you get sick? Or his "history", oye-\$'ory, did something to him, kicked him out of Brussels, etc. p.3 If you don't know anything, then please do this: wait two days; if during this time there is no other news from me, write to Brussels through other acquaintances to him and about him, so that I will probably find out what the matter is. Something incredible and impossible! If you know anything about him, damn me right away. And on March 8, it was already throwing thunder and lightning: "Yesterday I was infuriated by the impudent letter of Huysmans (one

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from the leaders of the Belgian socialists and the chairman of the International Socialist Bureau of the P International. - B. S), to whom Popov has not yet delivered a report yes! A promised to do this 4/P (2/P I left Brussels and from the cafe - do you remember? Do you know the name of the cafe? this Huysmans.

He sent a frantic registered letter with a return receipt to that bastard Popov: deal, the devil take you, with whatever loves and illnesses you want, but if you have taken a party obligation, then fulfill it or pass it on to someone else in time. I also wrote to Carlson (a Latvian Bolshevik who worked in Brussels as a typesetter in a printing house; Lenin hoped that he would be able to find Popov and induce him to take up the translation of the ill-fated report. - B.S.). And Huysmans replied that his expressions were offensive, that he had no right to use them, and if he did not formally renounce them, then this would be the last letter I write to him!

Bastard Popov - exposed me as a deceiver in front of Huysmans ...

By the way, what Lenin writes to Inessa seems to refute Popov's memoirs. Judging by the letters, the world of Ilyich Ivan Fedorovich did not send either a note or a conversation to France to rest and meet with Armand Vladi. At least, he obviously did not tell Inessa about this. Perhaps, of course, Lenin had in mind that Popov should go to France after he had finished translating the report. But then it is completely incomprehensible why it was necessary to entrust such a responsible task, and even in the shortest possible time (in two days!), to a person who was morally depressed and needed rest. That Lenin was aware of Popov's "love story" is beyond doubt.

Anyway, by March 15, the report was translated by Popov and sent to Huysmans. Lenin begged Inessa to go to Brussels with Ivan Fyodorovich. He is semi-

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that her impeccable knowledge of French would be very useful there. In early July, Ilyich wrote to Armand in the resort town of Lovran on the Adriatic, where she was vacationing with her children: "Oeag yepa! I am terribly afraid that you will refuse to go to Brussels, which will put us in a completely impossible position. And so I came up with another "compromise" so that you could no longer refuse.

Nadia thinks that your older children have already arrived and you can easily leave them for 3 days (or take Andryusha with you).

In case the elders didn't come and it's absolutely impossible to leave the children for 3 days, I suggest: you go for one day (on the 16th, even for half a day, to read the report), either leaving the children for a day, or even writing out for this day Konstantinovich (the sister of Alexander and Vladimir Armandov. - B.S.), if the extreme demands. (Costs will be paid.)

The point, you see, is that it is extremely important that the keynote is read really well. For this, excellent French is absolutely necessary - excellent, because otherwise the impression will be zero - French, otherwise 9/10 will be lost during translation just for the Executive Committee, which must be influenced (the Germans are hopeless and they may not be here) .

Of course, in addition to excellent French, you need an understanding of the essence of the matter and tact. There is no one besides you. Therefore, I ask you, with all my strength, to agree to at least a day (read the report, apologize that the family is sick, leave, handing over to Popov) ...

We will write the report of the Central Committee (meaning the report to be read at the meeting, and not that informational report on the differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, which Popov translated for more than a month. - B.S.). Your task will be to translate and read with comments, which we agree on ...

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I worry a lot about Brussels. Only you would have a wonderful time ... I'm not good enough here.

Positively, Ilyich used all his eloquence. One gets the impression that he is persuading the woman he loves to accept a marriage proposal, and not persuading a party comrade to go to another city to read a report. And, by the way, maybe there was a hidden declaration of love here. Convince the leadership of the II International that only the Bolsheviks really represent the Russian social

democracy was, of course, very important. This includes representation in international socialist organizations and the possibility of obtaining Schmitt's money. And Lenin self-critically understood that he himself was unsuitable for an inherently diplomatic mission. Of course, Ilyich had an understanding of the essence of the matter, but he did not have tact, and even a fairly fluent command of the French language. Opponents and simply those who angered him in some way, Lenin, both in letters, and in articles, and in public speeches, did not hesitate in the least, using non-parliamentary expressions. And in his letters to Inessa he freely used unprintable phrases: "... I am personally very glad that this bitch refused to go to our magazine"; "It's not worth spending a lot of time on such shit as Merheim ...", etc. Inessa, not without reason, seemed to him the most suitable person to participate in the meeting. But still too passionately the leader persuaded Armand. After all, the question of her speech in Brussels was not a matter of life and death for Lenin and the party, all the more so since in the future Ilyich successfully broke off all relations with the Second International. And even then, in July 1914, it is felt that he did not particularly count on success in Brussels.

Inessa could not but respond to Lenin's request. For the sake of this, and beloved children could be left under the supervision of a sister-in-law for a day. In one of the following letters, Lenin instructs Inessa: "...I am sure that you will miraculously smash both Plekhanov (on the way!!) and Kautsky (on the way). We will teach them a lesson, bastards, great! While persuading Gyu

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Ismans, Vandervelde and other leaders of the Second International did not succeed in dealing only with the Bolsheviks, Lenin approved Armand's behavior at the Brussels Conference. On July 19, 1914, he wrote to Inessa: "You did a better job than I could have done. Apart from the language, I would probably explode. I would not tolerate comedy and would call them scoundrels. And they just needed it - they provoked it. You and you have come out calmly and firmly."

Popov's testimony about Armand's disputes with Lenin finds confirmation in Lenin's letters to Inessa. It is possible that Inessa interpreted some of Lenin's actions as a sign of a cooling in their relations due to disagreements over whether the "bourgeois fatherland" should be defended. Ilyich hurries to reassure her. At the very end of 1915, Inesa went to Paris to contact Russian and French socialists and work in local libraries. On January 15, 1916, Lenin wrote to her from Bern: "Today is a magnificent sunny day with snow. After influenza, my wife and I walked for the first time along that road to Rhatsep Karen, along which - remember? - we had such a wonderful walk once the three of us. I thought about everything and regretted that you were gone. By the way. I wonder a little that there is no news from you. While I'm already at the same time: a thought flashes through me, a sinful deed - are you already "offended", which is good, that I didn't come to

went to see you off on the day of departure? I repent, I repent and renounce these thoughts, I have already driven them away.

In a playful tone, Ilyich makes it clear to his beloved: there is no reason for concern, to see you (or you - I don't know, right, how they addressed each other in personal meetings), because he has not yet fully recovered from the damned influenza. But on February 26, 1916, he already expressed some dissatisfaction with the position taken by Inessa, although this time he dressed his dissatisfaction in a jokingly friendly form: "Dear friend! I know that you are interested in science, not politics. But still your sympathies, I do not

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I doubt it, on the side of France... Science is everything for you, but a little sympathy for France, even a lot of sympathy, you certainly have. unkind message from Inessa: "Dear friend! Today we received your most angry postcard and answered it (or rather, not only it) with a long letter. Nevertheless, one should not, even in hearts, write rude words like "heaped up" (in letters): this does not encourage the continuation of correspondence. On March 31, he repeated, but without any irritation: "You are not interested in politics, but you still sympathize with France ..."

All the same, Ilyich was a funny man. Sacredly believed that only he had the right to vilify others in letters and articles with the last words. He was offended at Inessa only for the rather innocent word "heaped up" addressed to him. And earlier, as we remember, he was very offended that she dared to object - to whom? to him(!) in the discussion about "free love". Lenin simply could not look at others other than from top to bottom. He was completely unbearable that someone dares to argue with him on an equal footing. Ilyich believed in his own genius. That is why he abundantly used selected curses against all those who, at least in anything, dare to disagree with him. Even if later it was necessary to admit the correctness of the opponent (but this happened extremely rarely).

Let us return to the dispute between Lenin and Armand over the defense of the fatherland. On November 25, 1916, Vladimir Ilyich wrote to Inessa from Zurich to Zerenberg: "About the fatherland. You seem to want to establish a contradiction between my writings before... and now. I don't think there are any contradictions. Find the exact texts, then we'll see again ... That the defense of the fatherland is permissible (when permissible) only as a defense of democracy (in the corresponding era), this is also my opinion. And he immediately explained his understanding of democracy as a transient and temporary phenomenon for the Bolsheviks, although at a certain stage useful:

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We Social-Democrats always stand for democracy, not "in the name of capitalism", but in the name of clearing the way for our movement, which clearing is impossible without the development of capitalism." But Inessa did not agree with Lenin. And in a letter dated December 23 of the unfortunate leap year 1916 they spent in separation, Ilyich once again tried to convince her: "As for the defense of the fatherland. It would be extremely unpleasant for me if we parted ways. Let's try to sleep again. Here is some food for thought:

War is a continuation of politics. It's all about the system of political relations before the war and during the war.

The main types of these systems are: (a) the relation of an oppressed nation to an oppressor one, (b) the relation between two oppressor nations due to booty, its division, etc., (c) the relation of a non-oppressive nation-state to an oppressor, to a particularly reactionary one.

Think about it.

Caesarism in France + Tsarism in Russia against non-imperialist Germany in 1891—such is the historical situation of 1891. Think about it!"

Lenin continues to defend his thesis that "Tsarism is a hundred times worse than Kaiserism." And in order to substantiate it in relation to 1891, the year of the formation of the Entente, I had to slightly distort widely known facts. Of course, both France and Russia were already imperialist states, to use the terminology that existed then. Vladimir Ilyich himself insisted that imperialism arose in the world no earlier than 1898.

In the next letter, sent on December 25, he explained: "War of France + Russia against Germany in 1891. You take "my criterion" and apply it only to France and Russia!!! Excuse me, where is the logic here? I am saying that on the part of France and Russia it would be a reactionary war (a war to reverse the development of Germany, to return it from national unity to fragmentation). And from Germany? You

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keep quiet. That's the main thing. On the German side in 1891 there was not and could not be an imperialist war.

You have forgotten the main thing: in 1891 there was no imperialism at all (I tried to prove in my pamphlet that he was born in 1898-1900, not earlier) and there was no imperialist war, there could not be from Germany. (By the way, there was no revolutionary Russia then; this is very important.)

Further: the "possibility" of the fragmentation of Germany is not ex-

included in the war of 1914-1917," you write, precisely moving from an assessment of what is to the possible.

It's not historical. This is not politics.

What we have now is an imperialist war on both sides. We have said this 1000 times. This is the point. And "possible"!!? You never know what is "possible"!

It is ridiculous to deny the "possibility" of turning the imperialist war into a national one... What is not "possible" in the world! But so far she hasn't changed. Marxism bases politics on the real and not on the "possible". It is possible that one phenomenon will turn into another - and our tactics are not ossified.

It can be assumed that Inessa considered the war waged by France to be just, national. And she proved that Lenin's position regarding the possible fragmentation of Germany is formally fully applicable not only to the political situation of 1891, but also to the war of 1914. Consequently, the very thesis about the imperialist nature of the war is artificial for all its participants. Ilyich, although he defended the slogan of the defeat of "his" government, nevertheless consoled her: in the future, war could indeed turn into a national war for one or another state.

And already in the next letter, on January 6, 1917, Lenin suggested that Armand publish pamphlets and leaflets, both "for the masses" and "for the socialists", directed "against the defense of the fatherland." It can be concluded that Inessa, in the end, "stepped on the throat of her own song" and, holding

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heart, switched to Leninist positions. This is probably not easy for her. On January 13, Ilyich asked Inessa "to go somewhere at least for a while, at least with essays or otherwise, in order to shake things up and go into an occupation that is exciting and useful for new and fresh people. Hey, work among the French is extremely necessary and extremely useful." Lenin felt that his girlfriend was having a hard time enduring both separation from him and forced emigrant idleness. And he hoped that a trip to her homeland would revive her. Lenin repeated the same advice on January 15: "I hope that you do not answer me to my proposal of a trip with a French essay, not because you are absolutely against it, but only because you think over this plan better, wanting to agree with it. I won't rush you and I won't repeat my convictions, but I would really like you to shake things up better, change the air, be among new and old friends, I would really like to say more friendly words to you so that it would be easier for you until you get back to work wholly captivating."

But Inessa did not intend to go to France. There was a sudden danger that, on the contrary, French troops might soon come to Switzerland. January 16 Lenin with mixed

Armand wrote with great feelings of anxiety and hope: "If Switzerland is drawn into the war, the French will immediately occupy Geneva. Then to be in Geneva means to be in France and from there to have relations with Russia. That is why I am thinking of handing over the party fund to you (so that you carry it on yourself, in a bag sewn for this, because they will not be given out from the bank during the war) ... These are just plans, for now between us. I think that we will stay in Zurich, that the war is unbelievable." The intention to make Inessa the keeper of the party treasury testified to the highest degree of trust on the part of the leader. Armand should have appreciated that. But Switzerland, as you know, did not enter the war, and the question of Inessa hiding the "gold of the party" on her chest fell away by itself.

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In December 1916, Ilyich got excited about the idea that Inessa learned to ski. He wrote to her about this repeatedly: "Do you go skiing? I definitely advise: extremely useful. Walk in the mountains on skis. And once again he inquired: "Do you ski? Ride by all means! Learn, start skiing and in the mountains - for sure. It is not known whether Inessa followed the advice of her lover.

On the eve of the February Revolution, in his correspondence with Armand, Lenin returned to the painful question of defending the fatherland. On January 19, 1917, he wrote: "As for the 'defence of the fatherland'. You, in my opinion, fall into the abstract and non-historical. I repeat ... defense of the fatherland = justification for participation in the war ...

(T) Three main types: the relation of the oppressed nation to the oppressor... As a general rule, war is legal on the side of the oppressed (whether it is defensive or offensive in the military sense).

(P) Relationship between 2 oppressive nations. Struggle for colonies, markets, etc. (Rome and Carthage; England and Germany 1914-1917). As a general rule, this kind of war is robbery on both sides; and the attitude of democracy (and socialism) towards it falls under the rule: "two thieves fight, let them both perish"...

(1) Third type. The system of equal nations. The question is more difficult! Especially if tsarism stands next to civilized, comparatively democratic nations. This was (approximately) the case in Europe from 1815 to 1905.

1891 year. The colonial policy of France and Germany is insignificant. Italy, Japan, the S. States have no colonies at all (now they do). In Western Europe, the theme of states, in general, constitutional, national, has developed. Next to them is the mighty, unshakable, pre-revolutionary tsarism, which has been plundering and oppressing everyone for hundreds of years, having crushed the revolutions of 1849 and 1863.

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Germany (1891) a country of advanced socialism. And this country is threatened by tsarism in alliance with boulangism!

The situation is completely, not at all the same as in 1914-1917, when tsarism was undermined in 1905, and Germany was waging war for the sake of dominating the world. Another calico!!

To identify, even to liken the international situations of 1891 and 1914 is the height of unhistoricity...

In the imperialist war of 1914-1917, between two imperialist coalitions, we must be against the "defence of the fatherland", for (1) imperialism is the eve of socialism; (2) imperialist war is a war of thieves for booty; (3) there is an advanced proletariat in both coalitions; (4) in both, a socialist revolution is ripe. This is the only reason why we are against the "defence of the fatherland", this is the only reason!!"

Lenin tried to ensure that Inessa accepted his views not only with her mind, but also with her heart. Therefore, he did not emphasize, as in his time in a letter to Shlyapnikov, that the tsarist government is much worse than the Kaiser's. Inessa pointed to Engels' Germanophilism, which manifested itself in his assessment of the international situation in 1891. Lenin, in one of his letters to Inessa, confessed: "I am still 'in love' with Marx and Engels, and I cannot calmly endure any blasphemy against them." And he objected: Engels was right then. To prove this correctness, one again has to distort the facts. In particular, to represent tsarist Russia as a powerful, "unshakable" state, playing the role of a European gendarme. Meanwhile, Russia really played this role during the period of its hegemony under Alexander G and, to some extent, by inertia, under Nicholas 1. However, already with the Crimean War, the economic and military decline of the Russian empire became obvious to the whole world. By 1891, in industrial terms, and in terms of the level of combat capability of the army, Russia was significantly inferior to both Germany and

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France was not capable of carrying out large-scale aggression on its own.

According to Engels and Lenin, Germany at that time was the most "socialist" country in Europe, and therefore the howl against it should have been considered unfair for France and Russia. But even if, like Lenin, Engels,

Krupskaya and Armand, to consider socialism the most beneficent doctrine and social system for mankind (with which, I think, most of my readers will not agree), it is only in mockery that Germany in 1891 can be called "the country of advanced socialism." Yes, the German Social Democracy was very influential and had numerous factions in the Reichstag. But no one was going to include them in the government. The exceptional law introduced by Bismarck against the socialists had just been repealed. And neither in 1891 nor in 1914 did the vast majority of the German Social Democrats think of a revolution. Yes, and Russia and France still had to fight not against the Social Democrats, but against the Kaiser government, which was very far from Marxism. What does the "defence of the fatherland" have to do with the Germans as the defense of the "most socialist" country in Europe?

Lenin seemed to justify himself to Inessa: we are only in favor of the defeat of "our" government, because this will hasten the onset of the already overdue socialist revolution in Russia. And even as if he was ready to admit that Germany is the most imperialist of all powers, since only she aspires to world domination. Indeed, not one of the Entente states, due to the rivalry of England, France and Russia, could claim sole dominance over the world (especially after the US entered the war). Ilyich also admitted the possibility that at some point for individual states (including Russia and France) a world war could turn into a national one, i.e. fair.

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Lenin developed the very concept of just and unjust wars with a long-term view of the period when revolutions would break out in Russia and other countries. Then all the wars of revolutionary states can naturally be considered just, even if they represent an attack on neighboring states.

Armand, in translating one of Lenin's articles into French, stopped the passage where Engels' view of a possible Franco-German military clash was approved. In a letter dated January 22, 1917, Lenin was indignant at this: "As for the censorship to which you subjected my French article, I am surprised, by the way. Since you did not send the original (Engels's work "Socialism in Germany" - B. S.), and he would hardly undertake to translate it into French himself, he sent, of course, in your opinion, with the passage about Engels (French Lenin did not know well, in a letter to one of his correspondents he openly admitted: "I am not able to read French" - B.S.).

"At the mere thought that I am defending Entels' point of view on the war and on the position of the then Germans, your blood boils and you cannot translate this ..."

Dda! Not expected! After all, we, and I, and Grigory (Zinoviev. - B.S.), to this place - more than a place: statement, speech, declaration - Engels referred many times, directly and indirectly, in 1914 and 1915.

After all, this was written by Engels first for the French socialists and published in their Appapace 4i Par & Opuneg. And then the French did not protest, feeling - if not understanding clearly - that the war of Boulanger + Alexander III against the then Germany would have been anti-democratic only on their part, but on the part of Germany (which imperialism was then out of the question !!) would have been really only "defence", really a war for national existence.

And here is what the French themselves recognized as true in 1891, you suddenly cherite (a wonderful turn in correspondence with

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lady, to whom, moreover, is clearly not indifferent! - B.S.), and how!

In Switzerland, Inessa felt unwell, suffered from the consequences of malaria, and often spent long periods in various sanatoriums. On July 25, 1916, Lenin was worried about her health: "... I advise and ask to be treated in order to be completely healthy by winter. Go south, on the sun!!" I think that in fact Inessa was most depressed by the separation from Ilyich that lasted all year. It is not known who this time was the initiator. Perhaps Ilyich, because of the revealed political differences, did not want to keep Armand next to him, although he still wrote letters emphatically caring. Either Inssa's feeling for Vladimir reached such strength that it became very difficult for her to see her rival wife next to the object of her love, and she preferred to leave Lenin. In the already cited letter dated January 19, 1917, he wrote: "As for the "German captivity" (in the event that Switzerland becomes a theater of hostilities. - B.S.), etc., all your fears are excessive and unfounded. No danger. We are staying here for now. I beg you, when choosing your place of residence, with considerations about whether I will go there, do not reckon. It would already be absurd, wild, ridiculous if I embarrassed you in choosing a city with the thought of whether it "may" not be possible in the future to leave in such a way that I will come there too! You go, Armand herself avoided meetings with Lenin? However, this cannot be stated unequivocally.

Perhaps, for Inessa, political disagreements with Lenin were also a means of maintaining a more intense correspondence with him, of constantly reminding her of herself? But she experienced separation very hard. And sometimes longing broke through in the letters with irritation, which Inessa tried to hide. And sometimes for a long time she did not answer Ilyich. Thus, Lenin's letter, written between January 22 and 30, 1917

year, reflects his anxiety because of the silence of Inessa: "Apparently, your non-response to several of my last letters

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indicates - in connection with something else - some changed mood or decision or state of affairs with you. Your last letter contained at the end the word repeated twice - I went, I did it. Nothing. I already don't know what to think, whether you were offended by something or were too keen on moving or something else ... I'm afraid to ask, because, perhaps, questions are unpleasant for you, and therefore I'll agree that your silence on this point I accept it precisely in the sense that questions are unpleasant for you, and that's it. I then apologize for them and, of course, I won't repeat it." And on March 13, he added on another occasion: "Of course, if you don't have the desire to answer or even have a "hunt" and the decision is not to start, I won't bother with questions." The case concerned the leaflet "Against Lies about the Defense of the Fatherland," which Lenin sent to Inessa in February for translation into English and French. She approved the text of the leaflet, in connection with which Lenin wrote: "I am very glad that you liked it." But Inessa was delayed with the translation, which caused Lenin's displeasure. He received the translations only on the eve of March 15, the day when news of the Russian revolution became known in Switzerland. This message was brought to Lenin and Krupskaya by the Polish Social Democrat M. Bronsky. In the afternoon, he burst into their apartment with a joyful cry: "You don't know anything? Revolution in Russia! Congratulating Inessa on the completion of the work on the translations, Ilyich reported: "Today we are in Zurich in agitation: from 15. SH there is a telegram in the "Jagsweg Roz" and in "Metz 7igsweg enips" that in Russia 14. SH the revolution won in St. Petersburg after a 3-day struggle, 12 members of the Duma are in power, and the ministers are all arrested. If the Germans do not lie, it is true. That Russia was in the last days on the eve of the revolution is beyond doubt. I'm beside myself that I can't go to Scandinavia!! I won't forgive myself for not taking the risk of going in 1915!" Well, about the prediction of the eve of the revolution, the Bolshevik leader was, as they say, strong in hindsight. Back in early January 1917, speaking at the Zurich "People's House" with a report on the revolution of 1905-1907, he

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he only talked about the fact that "the coming years ... will lead to popular uprisings in Europe ..". However, in fact, even these "next years" for Lenin at that moment stretched into decades. Because he ended the report pessimistically: "We old people, perhaps, will not live to see the decisive battles of this coming revolution .." It seems that Vladimir Ilyich did not think that it was Russia that would start the future European revolution and that less than two years were left before the start of the Russian revolution. months. And how could he know this, if there was almost no connection with Russia, letters from there were received very rarely, and in Swiss or French

There was no way for the Russian newspapers to conclude that the Russian revolution was imminent. Perhaps Lenin retroactively interpreted as a sign of the approaching revolution the facts contained in one letter that came to him from Moscow. He wrote about this letter to Inessa on February 19, 1917: "Dear friend! We recently received a letter of encouragement from Moscow (we will send you a copy soon, although the text is not interesting). They write that the mood of the masses is good, that chauvinism is clearly on the wane, and that there will probably be a holiday in our street. The organization is suffering from the fact that adults are at the front, and young people and women are in the factories. But the fighting mood, de from this does not decrease. They send a copy of a leaflet (a good one) issued by the Moscow Bureau of the Central Committee... The smoking-room is alive! It is difficult for people and our Party to live purely. Yet they live."

Here only with a very stormy imagination can one find signs of an imminent revolution. Of course, the fact that chauvinism among the workers was on the wane opened up possibilities for the Bolsheviks to increase their influence and to put serious pressure on the Menshevik defencists. But no more. Obviously, under the future holiday on his street, Lenin meant the future dominance of his party among the workers. That in itself took time and by no means automatically led to the overthrow of the autocracy. Only by when the revolution really took place, Vladimir

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Ilyich tried to convince himself and Inessa that he had interpreted the Moscow letter as evidence of an impending revolutionary explosion.

One way or another, the February Revolution in Russia finally reconciled Armand with Lenin. Inessa became convinced in practice of the effectiveness of the slogan "defeat your government", which (and even more serious failures and heavy losses of the Russian army) contributed to the fall of tsarist power. Lenin's analysis of the situation turned out to be correct. Inessa could not but recognize the full right of that Ilyich

Now all Lenin's thoughts were directed towards a speedy return to Russia. And he persuaded Inessa to go there too. He wrote to her on March 18: "Dear friend! I am writing on the road: I went to the essay. Yesterday (Saturday) I read about an amnesty (announced by the Provisional Government for political opponents of the autocracy and victims of religious persecution - B.S.). We dream about the trip. If you are going home, please visit us first. Let's talk. I would very much like to instruct you in England to find out quietly and truly whether I could pass through.

The next day, Lenin received Inessa's letters and had a telephone conversation with her. He was disappointed and sent another letter to Armand on the same subject: "Doro that friend! I am writing to you in response to today received from you

letters and telephone conversations.

I cannot hide from you that I am very disappointed. In my opinion, everyone should now have one thought: to jump. And people are waiting for something! ..

I am sure that I will be arrested or simply detained in England if I go under my own name, because it was England that not only confiscated a number of my letters to America, but also asked (its police) dad (the Russian Social Democrat M.M. Litvinov, who later became the Soviet People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. - B. S.) in 1915, census

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whether he communicates with me and communicates through me with the German socialists.

Fact! So I can't move personally without very "special" measures.

What about others? I was sure that you would immediately jump to England, because only there you can find out how to get there and whether the risk is great (they say, through Holland: London - Holland - Scandinavia, the risk is small), etc. d.

Yesterday I wrote you a postcard from the road, thinking that you no doubt already think and decided to go to Bern to the consul (to obtain an English visa. - B.S.). And you answer: I hesitate, I will think.

Of course, my nerves are overwhelmed. Yes, even! "Be patient, sit here...

You probably have special reasons, your health may not be good, etc.

I will try to persuade Valya (V.S. Safarov, the wife of the well-known Inessa GI Safarov on a joint trip to St. Petersburg) to go (she ran to us on Saturday after she had not been for a year!). But she has little interest in the revolution.

Yes, I almost forgot. This is what can and should be done that hour in Klaran (Inessa lived there. - B. S): start looking for passports from Russians who would agree to give theirs (not to mention that for me) to leave now to another person; at the Swiss rock, or the Swiss, who could d:

Anna Evgenievna (Konstantinovich) and Abram (greater than A.A. Skovno, whom Inessa and Krupskaya had previously visited in the Bern hospital. - B.S.) must be forced to go to the embassy (of Russia. - B.S.), take a pass (if they don't give it, complain by telegraph to Milyukov and Kerensky) and go, or, if you don't go, give us an answer on the basis of deeds (and not words): how they give and take a pass.

Shake your hand.

Russian.

Your Lenin.

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In Klaran (and nearby) there are many Russian rich and not rich Russian social patriots, etc. (Trojanovsky, Rubakin, etc.) who should ask the Germans for passes - a carriage to Copenhagen for various revolutionaries.

Why not?

I can not do it. I am a "defeatist".

But Trojanovsky and Rubakin + Co. can.

Oh, if I could teach this bastard and fools to be smart! ..

You will say, perhaps, that the Germans will not give a wagon. Let's bet to bet that they will!

Of course, if they find out that this thought comes from me or from you, then the matter will be spoiled ...

Are there no fools in Geneva for this purpose: ..

At such moments as now, one must be able to be resourceful and adventurous. We must run to the German consul, invent personal matters and obtain a pass to Copenhagen, pay the Zurich lawyers: I will give 300 #5 if you get a pass for 4 Germans ... Opape a 110} .." (As for me, I understand nothing, absolutely nothing "(fr.). - B.S.).

This letter contains all of Lenin. People, even those for whom the leader has undoubted sympathy, are for him only a means to achieve certain political goals. In this case, in order to get to Russia as soon as possible at any cost. And in expressions, Ilyich, as usual, is not shy. Completely unfamiliar people, whom he is also going to use "in the dark" to obtain the coveted passports and passes, without hesitation, he calls "fools" and "bastards". But in connection with this case, they could subsequently get into big trouble with the police! In principle, this is the same case as with the acquaintances of Elizabeth K., to whom Ilyich was going to quietly slip children's cubes stuffed with illegal literature. And it is quite possible that Lenin

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he was cunning when he wrote to Inessa that the German authorities could refuse passes to Copenhagen if they knew that the initiative came from him. Probably, he simply did not want to emphasize the fact that the activities of the Bolsheviks were objectively in the interests of Germany. And Lenin's calculation, as you know, turned out to be correct. It was too beneficial for the Germans that the defeatist-minded Social Democrats quickly ended up in Russia and continued their work to decompose both the army and the civilian population. For this reason, the sealed wagon for the passage of Lenin and his comrades through Germany was, as is known, finally provided.

And here is the real riddle, which has not yet been resolved - why did Inessa stubbornly refuse to return to Russia at first? Here you can put forward several versions. The ill-health option that Lenin mentioned in his letter as a suggestion does not seem very convincing. After all, in the previous few months, Inessa Ilyich had not said anything about any serious illnesses. Only about overwork and shattered nerves. But just in Russia, meeting with children, returning to active work could really shake up Inez, give her new vitality.

Characteristically, even before Armand did not express much enthusiasm for Lenin's proposal to go to France and make presentations there for Russian and French socialists. It seems that in fact Inessa does not want to leave Clara at all. What, or, more likely, who keeps her there? Maybe Inez fell in love again? An obscure Russian émigré or some handsome Swiss? It is unlikely that we will ever get an exact answer to this question. Or maybe Inessa was tired of the status of a friend, and she sought a promise from Ilyich that, if not now, then in the future, at least after the victory of the new revolution he was preparing, much more radical than the February revolution, they would nevertheless unite

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nyat their fate? Don't know. But, in spite of everything, the fact remains: Armand eventually went to Russia. I went in the same compartment with Lenin and Krupskaya in a sealed wagon through Germany. But Ilyich had to seek her consent for several more weeks.

Among the "special" measures that Lenin intended to use for his return to his homeland were means that seemed to be borrowed from the comedy of masks. For example, on the same day, March 19, he wrote to the Bolshevik Vyacheslav Aleksesvich Karpinsky in Geneva: "Take papers in your name for passage to France and England, and I will pass through them

through England (and Holland) to Russia.

I can wear a wig. A photo will be taken of me already in a wig, and I will come to the consulate in Bern with your papers already in a wig.

You must then hide from Geneva for at least a few weeks (until a telegram from me from Scandinavia): during this time you must hide yourself extremely seriously in the mountains, where we will pay for your boarding, of course.

If you agree, start preparations immediately in the most energetic (and most secret) way, and drop me a line then in any case.

What exactly Karpinsky answered Lenin is unknown, but, most likely, he gently avoided participating in an adventure that could cost him personally a forced expulsion from Switzerland. Lenin, however, was afraid to go to England under his own name, believing that he would either not be allowed into the country or be interned. The cautious Vyacheslav Alekseevich returned to Russia only at the end of the 17th, after the victory of the October Revolution. The wig idea was used by Lenin later, in the summer and autumn of 1917, when he had to hide from a possible trial on charges of spying for Germany.

Karpinsky later recalled that Lenin also proposed a rather piquant "travel plan for individual comrades: to marry a Swiss citizen and get

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thus the right of passage both to Germany and to Russia. Did Ilyich really advise Inessa to find some suitable Swiss for this purpose? Or did she already have such a Swiss?

Lenin was worried that he could not arrange a trip to Russia. And Inessa is behaving strangely. At the end of March, Ilyich again wrote to her: "Dear friend! You seem to be too nervous - this explains a number of theoretical "oddities" in your letters. It is not necessary to distinguish between the 1st and 2nd revolutions or stages 1 and 2?? That's right. Marxism requires a distinction between the classes that act. In Russia, the class in power is not the same as before. This means that the revolution is going to be completely, completely different ... We must not get into Russia! England won't let you. It doesn't go through Germany.

Probably, Inessa expressed some doubts about the need for a new revolution, believing that in the process of the development of the February Revolution, the Bolsheviks would be able to come to power in a peaceful, democratic way. Vladimir Ilyich, literally from the very first days, understood that the Provisional Government must be overthrown by armed force or by way of a general strike and mass demonstrations. I did not hope for victory in the elections to the Constituent Assembly - in the cross-

In Yang Russia, the Bolsheviks were clearly inferior in popularity to the Socialist-Revolutionaries. Although anti-war propaganda on German money and agitation for the immediate division of the landlords' lands should have greatly added to the people's love for Lenin's party. Indeed, in the already mentioned report in the Zurich "People's House" on the revolution of 1905, the leader of the Bolsheviks sincerely lamented: noble estates, only a fifteenth of what they had to destroy ... "

Now, Lenin thought, the peasants would not let go of their own and would already destroy all the landowners as a class. And only then the land can be taken away from them by declaring

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native property, and force the peasants to work on it, like the new serfs of a socialist state. But in order to seriously fight for power, Lenin and other leaders of the Bolsheviks had to return to Russia. And it didn't work to go back. England and France did not let through. Germany hesitated. All of a sudden, the travelers on the road will deploy anti-war propaganda on the territory of the Reich, where the people are already very tired of the war and the blockade. Or even settle in Germany, adding pain to the local police.

Finally, a compromise was reached. On March 31, 1917, Lenin telegraphed Robert Grimm, a prominent Swiss social democrat and member of parliament, who acted as an intermediary in negotiations with the German authorities: "Our party has decided to unconditionally accept the proposal for the passage of Russian emigrants through Germany and immediately organize this trip." It was all about the same sealed wagon. By the way, Lenin himself proposed this idea even when he hoped to travel to Russia through England and wrote to Ganetsky: "Please inform me ... is it possible for the British government to let me and a number of members of our party into Russia ... on the following conditions: (a) The Swiss socialist Fritz Platten (who was yet to perish in the Gulag. - B.S.) receives from the British government the right to smuggle any number of persons through England, regardless of their political direction and their views on war and peace; (6) Platten alone is responsible both for the composition of the transported groups, and for order, receiving a wagon locked by him ... for travel through England. No one can enter this carriage without the consent of Platten. In practice, these conditions were useful to Ganetsky and Platten for negotiations with representatives not of the British, but of the German government.

In early April, Lenin wrote to Inessa, who was still indecisive: "I hope that on Wednesday (April 4. - B.S.) we are going (from Bern to Germany. - B.S.) - to

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I hope, together with you... Money (100 #5), I hope, was received in an express (translation. - B.S.) sent in the morning. We have more money for the trip than I thought, enough for 10-12 people, because the comrades in Stockholm helped us a lot.

Since Lenin was forced to send money to Inessa for the journey to Bern, it means that she lived rather cramped. Obviously, Alexander Armand, because of the war, could not transfer funds abroad for his ex-wife. Inessa arrived in Bern and joined the departing. Before the departure, which was postponed until April 9, everyone had to sign an undertaking to comply with the conditions of passage through Germany and fully obey Platten's orders. In addition, Ilyich and the other passengers of the sealed carriage were warned that the Provisional Government was threatening to bring to trial on charges of treason those Russian subjects who would return to Russia through Germany. According to the memoirs of the German Social Democrat Wilhelm Münderberg, Lenin kept repeating: "We must go at all costs, even through hell." And the Bolshevik P. Joffe, who was in Zurich in those days, asserted: "To the cowardly talk of the fake internationalists that the German Kaiser, letting the Bolsheviks through, has his own definite goals, Lenin resolutely answered: 'I don't care about the goals of the Kaiser. What does it matter, after all, what he wants? I know one thing - I should be there, not here ...' "Let's suppose that Lenin knew perfectly well about the goals of the Kaiser. Only a fool could have been unaware of these goals: to use the Bolsheviks for corrupt propaganda in order to take Russia out of the war. But Vladimir Ilyich considered himself immeasurably superior to the "phony internationalists" and saw no great harm in Germany's victory over Russia if the victory of the socialist revolution were purchased at such a price.

General Erich Ludendorff, who served as chief of staff under the actual commander of the German army, Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg,

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recalled: "Helping Lenin to get to Russia, our government assumed a special responsibility. From a military point of view, this enterprise was justified. Russia had to be knocked down."

And even before Lenin left Switzerland, the German authorities decided to pay the Bolsheviks. After coming to power in October 1917, Lenin and representatives of the German side tried to cover up the traces of this help. In Lenin's "secret" archive, a curious document has been preserved, dated November 16/29, 1917: "To the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. According to re-

resolution adopted at a conference of people's commissars comrades Lenin, Trotsky, Podvoisky, Dybenko and Volodarsky, we produced the following:

1. In the archives of the Ministry of Justice, from the case of the "treason" of Comrade Lenin, Zinoviev, Kozlovsky, Kollontai, and others, we removed the order of the German Imperial Bank No. Lenin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky, Sumenson, Kozlovsky and others for promoting peace in Russia.

2. All the books of the Nia Bank in Stockholm were reviewed, concluding accounts vols. Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev and others, opened by order of the German Imperial Bank for. No. 2754. These books were handed over to Muller, who was sent from Berlin.

Authorized by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs E. Polivanov, G. Zalkind.

I don't know what happened to G. Zalkind. But in 1938, the eminent orientalist linguist Evgeny Dmitrievich Polivanov, authorized by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, paid for his knowledge of the most secret of the Bolshevik secrets in 1938 by execution.

We traveled through Germany without incident. The journey took four whole days. On April 13, the train arrived at the Baltic port of Sassnitz. From here, a ferry departed for the Swedish port of Trelleborg. At six o'clock in the evening the passengers of the sealed carriage arrived there. At night, it's already an ordinary

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the tone of an ordinary passenger train took them to Stockholm. There Lenin and his companions were met by the deputies of the Swedish Riksdag Carlson, Lindhagen, Shtrem and others. There was still some time left before the train left for Finland. Together with Swedish friends we decided to take a walk around the city. It was then that a historical group photograph was taken - the only one in which Armand was captured together with Lenin (and Krupskaya).

At the Finnish border, the travelers boarded Finnish wagons - wakes. On them, the travelers got to the nearest station, where they got into old, shabby, but such native Russian third-class carriages. Vladimir Il'ich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna had not been in Russia for ten years, Inessa four years.

ARMAND AND
LENIN: STAR HOUR AND DEATH

Shortly after arriving in Petrograd, Inessa parted ways with Ilyich and Nadya. The couple settled on the banks of the Neva, while Inessa went to Moscow, to her children. Even the luggage is not us-

sang to pick up. Lenin wrote to her later: "Now I have received two packages for you - from those that were taken out of your basket." He was inquired about how Inessa settled in the Mother See: "How are you? Are you satisfied with Moscow?... I wish you all the best both in terms of work, and in terms of getting a job, and in terms of life with children ... With great pleasure I sometimes see from the Moscow Social-Democrat how you take different work in different districts, but, of course, little can be seen from the newspapers. And, perhaps, for the first time he complained about fatigue: "We still have "everything the same" that you yourself saw here, and there is no "end to the edge" for overwork ... I'm starting to "give up", sleep three times more than others, etc."

The rhythm of life in revolutionary Russia was not at all the same as in quiet neutral Switzerland. In St. Petersburg there was no time for outdoor walks. And Ilyich was not accustomed to constantly working a lot and with great intensity. And the change in lifestyle immediately affected his physical condition for the worse. After coming to power, when there were especially many things to do, the health of the Bolshevik leader turned out to be very thoroughly undermined, and soon an unknown illness deprived him of the ability to influence the course of events and brought Lenin to the grave.

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On the whole, Lenin's letter to Inessa seemed to indicate that their romance was a thing of the past. Ilyich politely inquired about the life in Moscow of a woman whom he had once loved. The wishes of a job with earnings and a happy life with children can be understood in such a way that only memories remain of the former feeling, sometimes hurting the soul, but no more.

Lenin prepared the socialist revolution. He had no time for love. Krupskaya, as before, helped, performed the functions of a secretary. Although in the first weeks after her return, she also fell ill. Nadezhda Konstantinovna recalled that even on May 1 she "was lying, could not get out of bed ...". When she got better, she was engaged in listing, collecting materials, holding, on behalf of her husband, meetings with party activists ... At the same time, Nadezhda Konstantinovna wrote her first article about Lenin, modestly titled "A Page from the History of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party." But the entire "page" was about Him alone and appeared in Soldatskaya Pravda on May 13. Krupskaya asserted: "The St. Petersburg proletariat arranged a solemn meeting for Lenin, because they knew his past activities, knew that he had come to fight. With furious anger, the whole bourgeoisie, all the dark forces fell upon Lenin. They poured out all their hidden hatred for the masses of the people rising to power on Lenin. For them, he was the personification of that transfer of power to the workers, which is troubling the entire existing order, all the privileges of those who are well-fed and who have so recently dominated.

At first, Nadezhda Konstantinovna worked in

secretariat of the Central Committee of the RSDLP(b). But it was difficult to combine this work with the role of Lenin's personal secretary. Krupskaya recalled: "... Things with the secretariat did not work out for me. Of course, it was much more difficult for Ilyich to work without a personal secretary, but according to Russian conditions, in order to be the personal secretary that I used to be (abroad. - B.S.), I had to be both in the editorial office and at

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meetings of the Central Committee - it was inconvenient. I had a talk with Ilyich, and decided that I would give up the secretariat and go into enlightenment work. When I think about it now, I regret doing it. She would have stayed with Ilyich, perhaps she would have taken away from him the care of many trifles. Most likely, other members of the Central Committee insisted on Krupskaya's departure from the secretariat. In fact, Nadezhda Konstantinovna, in order to fully perform the functions of Lenin's personal secretary to the same extent as in exile, had to be a member of the party leadership. And the fact that in the Central Committee Ilyich would still have the additional voice of his wife, his comrades-in-arms, one must think, looked askance. Lenin did not yet have unconditional authority in the party, although he was already considered its recognized leader. Such authority came after the victory of October and the final success of the combination with the Brest Peace. But even then, he had to convince his comrades-in-arms, even if they had unlimited faith in his genius, and not dictate ready-made solutions to them. And many decisions of the Politburo and the Central Committee were not taken unanimously.

For Krupskaya, excommunication from the role of Lenin's secretary may have proved fatal. Now the spouses were not connected by joint daily work, they saw each other less and less, and some alienation from each other could not but arise between them. Ilyich came home late and very tired, there was almost no time to talk. Lenin tried to practice, as in Switzerland, walks with his wife, but it was difficult to carve out even half an hour for them.

Krupskaya decided to run for the Vyborg District Duma and easily won the elections in this proletarian district, where the population supported the Bolsheviks. In the Duma, she became the chairman of the cultural and educational commission - Nadezhda Konstantinovna devoted the rest of her life to this field of activity. She began with the organization of two literacy schools and the opening of a working People's University on Vyborgskaya Embankment.

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Meanwhile, the clouds were gathering over Vladimir Ilyich. After the Bolsheviks failed to take power on July 4 with the help of an armed demonstration of soldiers and sailors who sympathized with them, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Lenin. He was accused of spying for Germany and organizing

coup attempts. Lenin went underground. They searched his apartment, arrested Nadezhda Konstantinovna and the husband of Lenin's sister, Anna, Mark Timofeevich Elizarov, who was mistaken for the leader of the Bolsheviks. Then they figured it out and let go. Lenin and Zinoviev hid in Razliv near Petrograd, and then in Finland.

In August, the UT party congress was held without Lenin. Both Krupskaya and Armand were legates. Then Nadezhda Konstantinovna visited Vladimir Ilyich in Helsingfors. Krupskaya described their meeting as follows: "Ilyich was very happy. It was evident how he yearned, sitting underground at a time when it was so important to be in the center of preparation for the fight. I told him everything I knew."

Lenin returned to Petrograd on October 7, 1917. He settled on Serdobolskaya Street in the apartment of the Bolshevik Margarita Vasilievna Fofanova. The road to Petrograd was not easy. First, Lenin moved to Vyborg. The Finnish Social Democrat Yu.K. Latukka recalled: "On Saturday, October 7/20, the long-awaited Eino Rahja finally arrived with an order from the Central Committee of the party to deliver Lenin to Petrograd. No time was wasted. They made a wig that made our Vladimir Ilyich unrecognizable - a Finnish pastor ... They boarded a tram and soon were at the station. The train blew a whistle at 2:35 p.m. — the October Revolution was on its way to Russia. At Raivola station, our travelers left the platform of the wagon; two hours later, Vladimir Ilyich, on a tender for a steam locomotive, on which Yalava was the driver, with Eino Rakhya in the first carriage of the train crossed the border and left the train at Lanskaya station. There is some lettuce here.

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wrong. Indeed, the nearest station to Serdobolskaya Street was Lanskaya. But a few days before Lenin's return, Krupskaya made her way along the proposed route and found out that Lanskaya was located on a high hillock. Therefore, all visitors immediately catch the eye when they descend into the city. It was decided that Ilyich would get off at the previous station, Udelnaya, and reach Serdobolskaya Street on foot.

The shelter chosen for Lenin was very convenient from the point of view of conspiracy. Krupskaya fully appreciated this: "Fofanova lived in a large workers' house, which made it inaccessible to spies. One window overlooked the garden, through which, in the event of a search, one could go down to the garden located on the other side of the house. Very few people knew the apartment, and no one came without prior agreement (they went only on business). Fofanova was a member of the Vyborg party organization, except for her, no one lived in the apartment, no one came to her while Ilyich lived, with the exception of two or three cases, and even then she tried to come somewhere as soon as possible sell."

What follows is well known. The overthrow of the Provisional Government as a result of the October Revolution (or a coup, as the Bolsheviks themselves at first preferred to say, contrasting what happened with the less radical February Revolution). Convocation and dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. Shortly after the dissolution of the first Russian parliament, elected in truly universal and free elections, Lenin told Trotsky with satisfaction: "Of course, it was risky on our part that we did not postpone the convocation, very, very careless. But in the end it worked out better. The dispersal of the Constituent Assembly by the Soviet government is the complete and open liquidation of formal democracy in the name of revolutionary dictatorship. Now the lesson will be hard." Then - the establishment of a truce at the front, the disruption of peace negotiations in Brest-Litovsk, the German offensive, the conclusion of "obscene

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nogo" Brest peace. The last event was directly related to our "red triangle". Petrograd, as a result of the peace treaty, turned into a frontier town. Not far away, in Estonia and Finland, there were German troops. For security reasons, the Council of People's Commissars, headed by Lenin, moved to Moscow in March 1918, which became the capital of the Soviet state. Ilyich, Krupskaya and Armand again ended up together in the same city. And Lenin's romance with Ines soy flared up again. And this time their relationship went very far.

Fofanova also moved to Moscow. Ilyich attached it to the People's Commissariat of Agriculture. Many years after the death of all the actors in our history, Margarita Vasilievna recalled that even in Petrograd she sent Lenin's letters and notes to many addressees, including Inessa Armand: "Letters from Lenin to Inessa Fedorovna were of a personal nature. I could not refuse Vladimir Ilyich. Nadezhda Konstantinov did not know about his warm ties with Inessa. On this basis, there were serious conflicts between Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna even before October. But the conflict between them arose especially sharply after the revolution, when Ilyich became the head of the Soviet government. Vladimir Ilyich appointed Inessa Fyodorovna chairman of the economic council of the Moscow province and settled her near the Kremlin walls, opposite the Alexander Garden, next to the apartment of his sister, Anna Ilyinichna. He often visited Inessa Fedorovna on foot.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna told Vladimir Ilyich that if he did not cut off contact with Armand, then she would leave him. Unfortunately, the family conflict became the property of the members of the Central Committee of the party and the government, who knew everything and noticed.

Shortly after the appointment of Armand to the post of chairman

the giver of the economic council of the Moscow province, it turned out that she could not cope with this completely unusual for her

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work. Then, at the initiative of Lenin, she was appointed to the newly created position of head of the women's department at the Central Committee of the RCP (b).

Of course, the story of Margarita Vasilievna could not be believed, but it is also confirmed by such a solid witness as V.M. Molotov. Vyacheslav Mikhailovich himself became a member of the Central Committee only in 1921, after the death of Inesa. But even before that, he held not the last positions in the nomenklatura, was close to the very top and was probably aware of the rumors circulating there. In his declining years, Molotov talked with the poet Felix Chuev. The poet remarked: "They say that Krupskaya insisted that Inessa Armand be transferred from Moscow..." Vyacheslav Mikhailovich responded vividly: "It could be. Of course, this is an unusual situation. Lenin, simply put, has a mistress. And Krupskaya is a sick person."

In August 1918 another woman entered Lenin's life under the most dramatic circumstances. On August 30, 1918, in Moscow at the Michelson plant, he was seriously wounded by two shots. Lenin was shot at by former Socialist-Revolutionary Party member Fanny Kaplan. On the same day, student Leonid Kannegisser killed the head of the local Cheka, Moses Uritsky, in Petrograd. Although both terrorists acted alone, the assassination attempts on Lenin and Uritsky were declared the result of a "counter-revolutionary conspiracy" and served as a pretext for a campaign of "red terror" involving the execution of hostages in response to any active actions of counter-revolutionaries. In Petrograd alone, 500 people were executed for the murder of Uritsky.

Later, the attempt on Lenin was mythologized by Soviet historiography and propaganda, and the attempt on Uritsky was more or less forgotten. Perhaps, partly the fault here was the nationality of the victim, which had not been suitable since the 1930s. But the main thing was that the figure of Uritsky was in the shadow of the victim of the main assassination attempt. The version of a counter-revolutionary conspiracy is well known,

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in particular, based on the famous film by Mikhail Romm "Lenin in 1918". There, first, Kaplan's accomplices in a safe house conspire to kill Lenin, and then one of them at the Michelson factory pushes the crowd away from the leader, making way for the drugged terrorist Kaplan. Well, of course, how can anyone in a clear mind shoot at the great Lenin himself! In turn, the opponents of the Bolsheviks spread rumors that

the attack on Lenin was staged by the Chekists in order to get a pretext for declaring a campaign of "red terror". Or they imagined Kaplan's shots as the result of some kind of internal showdown among the Bolshevik leadership itself.

The version of the "Chekist provocation" does not stand up to any criticism. In this case, at best, Lenin would have been shot in the cap or, at worst, the driver or one of the guards would have been killed, but they would not have inflicted two severe wounds on the leader of the revolution, with whom all hopes were pinned for its successful completion. In the same way, the version that Ilyich was going to be killed by competitors from the ranks of the Bolshevik leadership cannot have anything in common with reality. At that moment, the position of Soviet power was too complicated to start serious internal party squabbles. In the Volga region, after the rebellion of the Czechoslovak Corps, the Eastern Front of the Civil War was created. Ukraine, the Baltic States and Belarus were occupied by German and Austro-Hungarian troops. In the south, the Volunteer Army of General Denikin and the Don Army of Ataman Krasnov fought with the Bolsheviks more and more actively. Numerous uprisings took place in the territory controlled by the Bolsheviks. Under these conditions, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Sverdlov saw the only hope for victory in the revolutionary genius of Lenin (Stalin then belonged to the category of leaders of the second rank and could not yet lay claim to the first roles).

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As is known, two shots from the Browning were fired at Lenin from the crowd from a distance of two or three steps, when he returned to the car after his speech. They were produced by Fanny Kaplan, a terrorist with pre-revolutionary experience, who spent 10 years in tsarist hard labor. Here is her biography. Fanny Kaplan was born in 1890 in the family of a teacher in the Volyn province. Her real name and patronymic is Feiga Khaimovna. Until 1906, she bore the surname Roidman, and then changed it to Kaplan. She joined the anarchists and undertook to kill the Kyiv governor. But the bomb exploded prematurely, and Fanny was badly wounded. She was sentenced to indefinite hard labor. The consequences of the injury led to the fact that in 1909 she became blind for three years. After that, her vision was restored, but Kaplan saw quite badly, she suffered from severe myopia. The February Revolution of 1917 freed Kaplan, after which she joined the Socialist-Revolutionaries, but never formalized membership in the party. During the investigation, she said that she decided to kill Lenin "for betraying the cause of socialism", expressed in the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly and the liquidation of the socialist parties. She conceived the assassination attempt back in February 1918. She did not name a single accomplice during the investigation and stated that she acted only on her own behalf.

The results of shooting from a distance of two or three steps are not at all impressive. Professional

killers from such shooting would simply break the heart. Here is a description of Lenin's injuries from the official bulletin: "One bullet, entering under the left shoulder blade, penetrated the chest cavity, damaged the upper lobe of the lung, caused a hemorrhage into the pleura and got stuck in the right side of the neck, above the right collarbone. Another bullet penetrated the left shoulder, shattered the bone and lodged under the skin of the left shoulder area. Lenin was lucky that the bullet did not hit any of the large arteries of the neck. Therefore, these injuries did not pose an immediate threat to life. Although, of course, it was impossible to exclude the death of Lenin from subsequent complications, on

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for example, from a banal blood poisoning, and the leader recovered from his wounds for about two weeks. It is clear that if the attempt were really the result of a conspiracy by the Socialist-Revolutionaries or some other opponents of the Bolsheviks, Fanny Kaplan would be the last person who was assigned to shoot Lenin - she does not see well, and she has never shot people before.

There were three or four shots in total (all witnesses heard three shots, and later four shell casings were found at the scene). One bullet, without hitting Lenin, wounded a woman who was talking to him - the housekeeper M.G. Popov. The bullet, passing through the left chest, crushed the humerus. The woman complained to Ilyich that the detachments were taking away flour from people, although there is a decree that the townspeople who bring flour from the village should not be taken away. Lenin admitted that there were "excesses" in the actions of the detachments, and promised that the supply of bread to the townspeople would soon improve, and at that moment shots rang out ... Popova was recognized as one of the victims of the terrorist attack. She was even given a medical allowance.

Later, the Cheka spread rumors that the bullets were poisoned, but this assumption is not confirmed by any objective data. There are no hints of him in Lenin's medical record. Rumors also spread that the wounds received as a result of the assassination attempt were the cause of Lenin's last illness. Indeed, in April 1922, one of the two bullets was removed from Lenin, the one that was stuck above the right sternoclavicular joint. It was a gesture of desperation. In this way, they naively hoped to slow down the development of a mysterious disease. But in vain. Indeed, in fact, Lenin's disease was, as experts today admit, a consequence of hereditary syphilis or another hereditary disease that provoked a narrowing of the vessels of the brain.

(Caught at the scene of the crime, Kaplan did not deny that it was she who shot the Bolshevik leader. She was shot without trial by the commandant of the Moscow Kremlin

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la Pavel Malkov four days after the assassination attempt in the Kremlin garage, to the sound of a running engine. The corpse was burned, and the remains were buried in the Alexander Garden. On September 4, Kaplan's execution was reported in the newspapers. Such a quick execution period proves that the investigation did not have any objective data about the conspiracy and had no doubt that the assassin acted alone. There were no ends that the Chekists had to hide in the water. Another thing is that immediately after the assassination attempt, propaganda began to intensively replicate the version that Kaplan was shot as the result of a conspiracy. For her reinforcements, on the same day, the former deputy commander of the special detachment of the Cheka, the Left Socialist-Revolutionary Alexander Protopopov, was arrested. He was shot even earlier than Kaplan, on the night of August 30-31. The Chekists had no doubt that Protopopov had nothing to do with the case, but his execution made it possible to blame the terrorist attack on the Socialist-Revolutionary Party.

Later, a legend spread around the country that allegedly Kaplan was not shot at all, but was only sent into exile or to a camp, where she died a natural death. Lenin allegedly said about Kaplan: "Let this woman live and see how the socialism against which she fought so fiercely is victorious!" And, as usual, there were eyewitnesses who saw Kaplan either in Siberia, or in the Urals, or even in the polar Vorkuta. Fortunately, the name Kaplan is almost as common among Jews as Ivanov is among Russians. And in the era of mass repression in the camps, there were many women named Kaplan, and some of them even bore the name Fanny. But in no case did the check carried out by the internal affairs bodies confirm that it was the same Kaplan.

The tale of a terrorist saved by the mercy of the leader turned out to be in demand by public opinion in the era of the Khrushchev thaw, since it was very suitable for opposing the "good Lenin" to the "evil Stalin", which was so characteristic of the "sixties". Real

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But the real Lenin was by no means inclined to forgive his enemies and preached terror and put it into practice long before he was wounded.

Let's discuss what would have happened if Fanny Ka's plan had fired more accurately and Lenin had been struck to death. Who would then come to power in Russia? Of the listed Bolshevik leaders of the first echelon, it seems that only Trotsky possessed those qualities that allowed the head of state to ensure victory in the Civil War. Here both decisiveness and ruthlessness, in particular, the readiness to actively pursue a policy of terror. Kamenev and Zinoviev were weaklings in this regard, for which Lenin criticized them more than once. Only he knew how to organize an army, to attract both former officers and more-me-

more than reliable soldiers - from the workers and the poorest peasants. At that moment, the position of the head of the Council of People's Commissars was by no means smeared with honey. It was important to retain power at any cost, leaving personal ambitions for a while.

Failed attempt on himself Lenin, let's give him his due, used in full. Already on September 5, 1918, the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR adopted a resolution on the "Red Terror". It read: "In the present situation, securing the rear by means of terror is a direct necessity... It is necessary to secure the Soviet Republic from class enemies by isolating them in concentration camps... all persons who had contact with the White Guard organizations, conspiracies and rebellions are to be shot. ... it is necessary to publish the names of all those who were shot, as well as the reasons for applying this measure to them." Here, the completely non-judicial word "with indirect" is especially remarkable. Under it, if desired, it was possible to bring anyone. And, besides, the bodies of the Cheka got the right to take hostages and pass sentences. The hostages were shot in response to any counter-revolutionary manifestations. As a pretext, the murder on August 30 of the head of the Petrograd Cheka, Moses Uritsky, and the assassination attempt on

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to Lenin. Although lone terrorists acted in both cases, the responsibility was placed on the "counter-revolutionary forces" as a whole. The decision of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet, adopted immediately after the assassination attempt on Lenin, promised: "The punishing hand of the authorities will be merciless." The promise was kept. The first 500 hostages were shot by order of the Petrograd Cheka already in October 1918. And on the day the decree on the "Red Terror" was adopted, in response to the assassination attempt on Lenin, several tsarist dignitaries were shot in Moscow, including former head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Alexei Khvostov, former head of the State Council and Minister of Justice Ivan Shcheglovitov and former comrade, minister Internal Affairs Stepan Beletsky. One of the leaders of the Cheka, Yakov Peters, said so: "Before the murder of Uritsky, there were no executions in Petrograd, but after it there were too many and often indiscriminately." And he lamented that "Moscow, in response to the assassination attempt on Lenin, responded only by shooting several tsarist ministers." Peters was not embarrassed that the same Shcheglovitov, Khvostov and Beletsky had nothing to do with Socialist-Revolutionary Kaplan except that they had once sent her to indefinite penal servitude. And as a "golden mean" between Moscow's "softness" and Petrograd's "indiscriminate shooting of arrows," Peters promised: "Any attempt by the Russian bourgeoisie to raise its head again will meet such a rebuff and such a reprisal that everything that is understood as red terror will pale before it" .

In reality, the Red Terror was launched at least since the beginning of 1918. Already in January of this year, the Council of People's Commissars announced the creation of "labor battalions" from the "bourgeoisie". Resisting mobilization in these battalions, equally

like "counter-revolutionary agitators", it was ordered to be shot on the spot. In June 1918, Lenin demanded "to encourage the energy and mass character of terror." And Trotsky proclaimed: "Intimidation is a powerful means of politics, and one must be a hypocritical hypocrite in order to

don't understand it."

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The "Red Terror" undoubtedly helped the Bolsheviks play the Civil War. And he also largely determined the nature of the regime established by Lenin and constituted by Stalin.

In relation to those who were close to him, Ilyich showed sincere concern. So, Lenin himself took care of allocating Inessa with the children a spacious apartment on the territory of the Kremlin. On December 16, 1918, he wrote to the commandant of the Kremlin P.D. Malkov, the same one who personally shot Kaplan's mistake: "T. Malkov! The giver is comrade. Inessa Armand, member of the CEC. She needs an apartment of 4 people. As we talked to you today, show her what you have, that is, show her the apartments that you meant. As a result, Inessa settled next door to Anna Ilinichnaya. In addition, she received the right to the highest "first category of class rations." True, even this privileged ration was rather meager at that time of famine. A pound of bread was supposed per day, as well as pearl barley, herring or vobla, matches, kerosene ...

Characteristically, after the October Revolution, Armand herself stopped hiding her feelings for Ilyich, at least in front of close people. In a letter to her daughter Inessa in early February 1919, on the eve of her departure to France as part of a Red Cross delegation to negotiate the fate of the Russian soldiers interned there, she wrote: "My dear Inusya. Here I am in St. Petersburg. We drove for an extremely long time. We arrived here only at 10 pm, but we are going so far very comfortably and warmly. Today we spent the night in St. Petersburg and this morning we are going further. And in a few hours we will no longer be in our dear socialist homeland (although Inessa went to her homeland - to France, her real homeland, which is noteworthy, she considered Soviet Russia. - B.S.). When leaving, some mixed feelings. And I want to go, but when I think about you, I don't feel like it, and in general I think a lot about you, my dear and dear ones. I put in your letter: the first letter for Sasha,

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the second letter is for Fedya (sons. - B.S.) and the third letter is for Ilyich. Let only you know about the latter. Hand over the first and second letters immediately, but keep the third letter for the time being. When we get back, I'll tear it apart. If something happens to me (I don't say this because I think that

there is some danger on my journey, but on the road, of course, anything can happen, in a word, just in case), then give this letter to Vladimir Ilyich. You can personally hand it over to him in this way: go to Pravda, Maria Ilyinichna is sitting there, and hand over this letter and say that this letter is from me and personally for Vladimir Ilyich. In the meantime, keep the letter with you. You are my dear daughter. When I think of you, I think of you not only as a daughter, but also as a close friend. Well, goodbye, my dear. In fact, see you soon. Hardly, I think, our trip will last even 2 months. I hug you tightly and kiss you. Your mother. The letter to Vladimir Ilyich is sealed in an envelope.

The situation, we agree, is unusual and a bit piquant. It is not often that a mother has to trust her daughter with her own love letters. And for sure Inessa Fedorov used Maria Ilyinichna more than once as a channel of communication with Ilyich. Earlier, in her letters to Inusa, her mother also mentioned Lenin more than once.

It is not known whether Lenin sent Armand to France, succumbing to the persuasion of Krupskaya, or simply proceeded from considerations of practical expediency. Excellent knowledge of the French language and connections among the French socialists made Inessa a very suitable candidate both for negotiations on the return to their homeland of the soldiers of the Russian expeditionary corps interned in France (so that they would not become a cadre of white armies), and for agitation of the French public in Poland. for the diplomatic recognition of Soviet Russia. And in May 1919, about a thousand people were returned to Russia. However, the French authorities were extremely wary of the Soviet mission, fearing the impact of communism.

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political propaganda on a population that had just gone through the hardships of the world war. The contacts of the delegation with the outside world were limited to a minimum (at first, members of the mission were even subjected to short-term arrest). The French government insisted that the delegation go home on the same ship as the soldiers released from the camps.

From the unusual material poverty of life and the equally unusual intensity of work, propaganda and organizational-clerical, Armand was very tired. In a letter to her daughter Inessa in Astrakhan in October 1918, she reported: "Now we live together with Varya in the same room (on the Arbat, at the corner of Denszhny and Glazovsky lane, house 3/14, apartment 12 - this address along with the number phone was preserved in Lenin's notebook. - B. S), which you saw before leaving. We are desperately cramped, but we console ourselves with the fact that we are cramped, but not offended. Varya sleeps huddled on the couch... I, as usual, run to my economic council - besides this, a French group has been created, which publishes its own newspaper, Sh Interna-

rational. In addition, the All-Russian Conference of Working Women is being convened... It will take place on November 6 (after this conference, the women's department of the Central Committee was created, which Armand headed. - B.S.)... I missed you so much! I really want to leave everything here at times and go to you. Recently, I was once very called there (to Astrakhan. - B.S.) by a comrade who came from the front, he said that there were no workers there, it was necessary to go, etc. I strongly hesitated in this direction, but then I realized that workers are also needed here, and work cannot be abandoned ... "

I emphasize that this letter was written before Inessa had a conversation with Lenin and she received a residence permit in the Kremlin. Perhaps, from this conversation, the romance interrupted in Switzerland was resumed? And Inessa's longing was caused not only by life's hardships, but also by the fear that Lenin had forgotten about her existence?

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In the summer of 1919, shortly after Inessa's return to Moscow, Nadezhda Konstantinovna went on a trip along the Volga and Kama on the Krasnaya Zvezda agitation steamboat. It is curious that the leader of the trip was none other than V.M. Molotov. Is there any connection between these two events? Was Krupskaya's trip caused by the fact that the love of Lenin and Armand gained a second wind? Or, on the contrary, precisely because of the absence of his wife, did Ilyich's romance with her rival develop rapidly? We are unlikely to ever get definite answers to these questions.

In the Volga region, Krupskaya learned a lot of new and unexpected things about the life of the people. She spoke primarily to workers in public education and local women's affairs. There was little other public - the speaker, like the publicist, Nadezhda Konstantinovna was no. They came only to look at Lenin's wife.

In the village of Rabotki, not far from Nizhny Novgorod, a wonderful conversation took place with an old peasant. One of Krupskaya's companions turned to him: "You, grandfather, don't you know how people get enlightened?" "And what is your enlightenment to me," grandfather answered unkindly, "with your enlightenment, we have been sitting without kerosene for the second year." The conversation, however, continued. We went into the hut, started talking about the family, children. It turned out that the old man had four sons in the Red Army. "And what are you, a husband or widow?" — in turn asked the grandfather. "Married," one of the escorts, the Bolshevik Viktor Petrovich, quickly answered for Nadezhda Konstantinovna.

Voznesensky. - Do you know who her husband is? Lenin" - "Oh! grandfather was amazed. - You're not lying? The biggest highway is the husband: Why didn't he go with you himself? "Yes, he has a lot of business," said the grandfather. What, he says, will happen next? Eh? .. "-" Yes, he says that we will beat Kolchak, and there we will end the war and we will manage in a new way

build," answered Nadezhda Konstantinovna. "Yes, with

the grandfather was hiding, - so Petruha from the Red Army writes the same thing. "Let's beat him," he says, "and we'll settle down."

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The Russian people are accustomed to sanctify the difficult present with faith in a brighter future. The Bolsheviks had no choice but to exploit this faith. With workers and peasants, such tactics sometimes brought success. Although without reinforcements by Red Army bayonets and Chekist Mausers, as well as bread rations, which only the new government distributed, such agitation would hardly have had a great effect in itself.

But with the intelligentsia it was very bad. She did not believe in fairy tales about a blessed communist future and stubbornly drew attention to various unpleasant moments of modern reality. It was not easy for Krupskaya at the meeting of the educated public in Chistopols. Her report on the topic "Intelligentsia and Soviet Power" did not arouse enthusiasm among the audience. Following Nadezhda Konstantinovna, a man in pince-nez and with a beard, who introduced himself as a "representative of scientific pedagogy," went up to the podium. He noted that Krupskaya was, of course, right on the question of the need to develop a labor school, but he wanted to say something else. About the cruelty of the Cheka, about unjust arrests, about the lack of freedom of the press. Several teachers present at the rally supported the speaker. "I had to," Krupskaya wrote in her diary, "in her closing speech to talk about bourgeois freedom of the press, about why we do not have freedom of the press, why we have to suppress the resistance of the bourgeoisie and the White Guards with the help of Chekas, etc. K. has turned gray, a philistine fell silent, and some of the teachers began to make excuses. Nadezhda Konstantinovna did not write what was the fate of her opponent. But it is not without reason to assume that now he had the opportunity to experience the cruelty of the Cheka in his own skin. It was not for nothing that those who dared to speak to Lenin's wife turned gray in their faces. They felt what was waiting for them after the Red Star steamer moved further along the Kama.

The tensions of the trip, with daily performances in front of not always friendly servants

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shateli, Nadezhda Konstantinovna could not stand it. Took a heart. Molotov insisted that Krupskaya rest for a few days. She refused. Then Vyacheslav Mikhailovich informed Lenin about his illness. On July 15, he sent a letter to Nadezhda Konstantinovna: "Dear Nadyushka! .. I learned from Molotov that you still have an attack of heart disease

was. It means you are working too hard. We must strictly observe the rules and obey the doctor. Otherwise, you will not be able to work for the winter! Don't forget it! I have already telegraphed you about the affairs in the People's Commissariat for Education. On the fronts of the east - brilliant. Today I learned about the capture of Yekaterinburg. In the south there is a turning point, but there is still no serious change for the better. We hope it will be... I hug you tightly and kiss you. I ask you to rest more, work less.

It was not possible to combine work and leisure in an optimal way. Although Nadezhda Konstantinovna had the idea to stay in the Urals, which had just been recaptured from Kolchak, all sharply and for a long time, to establish schools and libraries here. However, health did not allow. Yes, and Ilyich was categorically against it: "How could you come up with such a thing? Stay on Ur le?! I'm sorry, but I was shocked." In the end, Krupskaya had to return to Moscow before the end of the Red Star mission. The forces were already running out. How do you know if Nadezhda Konstantinovna's heart ailment, as well as her intention to remain, in fact, in voluntary exile in the Urals, was not caused by rumors about the resumption of her husband's relationship with Inessa? In any case, the alleged departure of the wife of the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars to the Ural wilderness was in itself a rather scandalous event. And Vladymir Ilyich came out decisively against the strange, at first glance, intentions of Nadezhda Konstantinovna.

Lenin still hesitated to make the final choice between Armand and Krupskaya. And it was not only the fact that Nadia, of course, was not a stranger, and that, in his own way, Ilyich had become strongly attached to her, held him back. Even though she was not as brilliant as Inessa. In addition, Nadezhda Konstantinov

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she was a very sick person. Throwing her was just inhumane. Although Lenin recognized humanism not as "abstract", but as "class", he certainly sympathized with the suffering of his wife, both physical and moral.

The main thing, I think, was still something else. The Bolshevik leaders were by no means puritanical. The love affairs of Trotsky or Bukharin did not constitute a secret for the party elite, rumors about them circulated among the people. The chairman of the Central Executive Committee (Inessa was a member of the Central Executive Committee) Kalinin and the immediate head of the Krupskaya People's Commissar of Education, Lunacharsky, were especially distinguished "in the female part." Valentinov recalled how, in the last years of Lenin's life, accusations were thrown against the leaders, thanks to the internal party discussion initiated by Trotsky: the life of the chairman of the Industrial Bank, Krasnoshchekov, the unworthy life of Lunacharsky, Commissar of Public Education, and his wife, the actress Rosenel, and many others. The old Bolshevik Lunacharsky represented, in fact, all the features of the "ne-

Pov's rebirth". In the house where I lived (Bogoslovsky lane No. 8, now Moskvina Street, opposite the Korsh Theatre), there was some kind of nightly artistic club above our apartment, where orgies took place with the indispensable participation of Lunacharsky. Drunken trampling, round dances, songs, women's screams with the electric lighting turned off at the right moments continued until five o'clock in the morning and did not let me sleep. The janitor of our house could often watch how drunken Lunacharsky in a beaver coat was carried out in his arms to get into a cab. A similar disintegration manifested itself in the era of war communism. Only the scale was smaller, because of the general poverty of life. Compared with the orgies of Anatoly Vasilyevich and Mikhail Ivanovich, even Lenin's open connection with Armand would look quite innocent.

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But there was one important circumstance. Lenin was the leader of the entire party and claimed to be the sole leader of the entire people. Immediately after the October Revolution, the image of Ilyich began to turn into a living icon. The leader's wife, Krupskaya, also took her place in the new myth. It would not be so easy for Armand to replace it in the public consciousness with another one. And it was not worth questioning the holiness of the main creator of the revolution and the leader of the world's first socialist state in a time of a fierce Civil War, dangerous for the Bolsheviks. Knowing Lenin, there can be no doubt that in this case, too, he subordinated his feelings for Inessa to the interests of the cause.

Krupskaya often suffered from relapses of Graves' disease. Doctors recommended her outdoor recreation. Lenin placed his wife in a forest school in Sokolniki. And often visited her. The trip to the new year 1919 almost ended in tragedy. Here are the scanty lines of the IBSC report: "In January 1919, on the Sokolnichesky Highway near the Krasnokholmsky Bridge, the Koshelkov gang stopped a car in which Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, was driving. The bandits, at gunpoint, took Lenin's car, Browning revolver, documents and disappeared ... "Lenin, his sister Maria Ilyinichna, Chabanov's bodyguard and Gil's driver were saved from death by two circumstances. Yakov Koshelkov, who thundered around Moscow in those years, was a criminal gangster, not a political terrorist. For him there was no fundamental difference under what authority to rob - under the tsarist or under the Bolsheviks. He killed only his immediate opponents - policemen and Chekists, and even those of the robbed who tried to resist or for some reason did not like the bandits. Lenin and Gil, fortunately for them, guessed not to resist and remained alive. There was no reason for the bandits to kill Ilyich. After all, their position would not have changed at all because Leni had been replaced as head of state by Sverdlov or Trotsky, Kolchak or Denikin.

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MI. Ulyanova left memories of this incident. She claimed that Lenin and his companions mistook the three armed men who had stopped the car for policemen or Chekists who were carrying out a routine document check. "But what was our surprise," said Maria Ilyinichna, "when the people who stopped the car immediately dropped us all out of the car and, not satisfied with the pass that Vladimir Ilyich showed them, began to search his pockets, putting the barrels of revolvers to his temples, they took the browning and the Kremlin pass _." "What are you doing, this is Comrade Lenin! Who are you? Show your mandates." "The criminals don't need any mandates..." The bandits jumped into the car, pointed their revolvers at us and set off at full speed in the direction of Sokolniki..."

As we can see, the big name of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and the leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution did not make the slightest impression on Yakov Koshelkov and his people. To Lenin, this incident sunk into the soul. And in the book *A Childhood Disease of Leftism in Communism*, published a year later, he used this episode to justify the Brest peace in hindsight: "Imagine that your car was stopped by armed bandits. You give them money, a passport, a revolver, a car. You get rid of the pleasant neighborhood with the bandits... Our compromise with the bandits of German imperialism was similar to such a compromise.

The vast majority of readers then did not realize that Lenin was describing here not an abstract example, but a very real situation where he himself was on the verge of death (suddenly one of the bandits would have trembled his finger on the trigger). Innocent readers also did not know that from other bandits, German, Lenin and his party quietly received money for the Russian revolution, and after October 17th - for the retention of power.

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Six months later, in June 1919, Koshelkov fell into a Chekist ambush and was mortally wounded. The deceased had a Leninist "Browning" and was returned to the owner. The certificate of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars was never found. It is possible that Koshelkov threw it out as unnecessary.

1919 became the decisive year of the Civil War in Russia. Lenin astutely remarked that mass mobilization would ruin Denikin, just as it had previously ruined Kolchak. And so it happened. Why didn't mass mobilization ruin the Red Army, unlike the White Army? It was a matter of the different social composition of the armed forces of the opposing sides. The middle peasants were

the majority of both whites and reds, and equally often ps went from one to the other and back, or deserted and returned to their native villages. The outcome of the war was determined by the relationship between the more or less reliable continents of the Red Army and its opponents. And here the obvious advantage was on the side of the Bolsheviks. They could rely almost entirely on the support of the workers, as well as the rural poor and landless farm laborers, who made up more than a quarter of the entire peasantry. These categories of the population could be mobilized without much difficulty and encouraged to go to fight in any province for rations, monetary allowances and ammunition - they still had almost nothing to lose at home. Lenin spoke well about this in April 1919 in connection with the mobilization to the Eastern Front: "We are taking people from hungry places and transferring them to places of grain. By giving everyone the right to two twenty-pound food parcels a month and making them free, we will simultaneously improve the food situation of the starving capitals and northern provinces. In addition, attracted by the internationalist ideology of the Bolsheviks, many former prisoners fought on their side: Austrians, Hungarians, whose countries lost the world war, deserters from the Czechoslovak Corps, as well as Latvians and Estonians, whose homeland was occupied by the Germans.

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troops. There were many Chinese and Koreans in the Red Army, who during the First World War were used for work in the front line. Latvian and internationalist forces could be freely transferred from front to front, and also used to suppress peasant uprisings. The Whites, on the other hand, had a much smaller cadre of officers, junkers and a small part of the intelligentsia, ready to fight the Bolsheviks either for the future Constituent Assembly or for the restoration of the monarchy (these last two groups were also at enmity with each other). In addition, out of approximately 250 thousand officers of the Russian army, about 75 thousand ended up in the ranks of the Red Army, up to 80 thousand did not take part in the Civil War at all, and only about 100 thousand served in anti-Soviet formations (including the armies of Poland, the Ukrainian People's Republic and Baltic states). The more or less prosperous peasants and Cossacks, who sometimes supported the Whites and were hostile to the Bolsheviks, did not want to fight outside their province or region, so as not to move away from the economy. This limited the possibilities of the White armies to conduct large-scale offensive operations and quickly transfer units from one sector of the front to another.

After returning from France, Armand began to visit Lenin often. Krupskaya testifies: "At the end of 1919, Inessa Armand often came to us, with whom Ilyich especially liked to talk about the prospects of the movement. Inessa's eldest daughter has already been to the front, almost died during the explosion on September 25 in Leontievsky pere-

street (that day there was a powerful bomb explosion in the premises of the Moscow Committee of the Party, as a result of which several dozen people were killed and wounded, including the secretary of the Moscow Committee V.M. Zagorsky; I.A. Armand, who was present at the expanded meeting of the Moscow Committee, suffered. - B. S.). I remember how Inessa came to us one day with her youngest daughter Varya, a very young girl then, then becoming

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our most devoted member of the Party. And Ilyich with them, as I put it in the old fashioned way, "brought regiments"; I remember how Varyushka's eyes gleamed. It can be suspected that in the absence of Nadezhda Konstantinovna and the girls of Inss, with Ilyich they did not talk at all about the "prospects for the movement", and Lenin, if he "brought regiments", then not on the political, but on the love front.

In February 1920, Lenin and Inessa caught a cold and could not visit each other. Krupskaya was also ill at that time. Unfortunately, Armand's telephone went out of order, and it was impossible to call her. Therefore, several Leninist notes of those days, addressed to Inessa, have been preserved: "Dear friend! I wanted to call you when I heard that you were ill, but the telephone does not work. Give me the number, I'll have it fixed. What's wrong with you? Drop two words about health and so on. Hello!" Lenin insistently advised to follow all the prescriptions of the doctors, in no case to go outside with a high temperature, promised to get for Inessa extremely scarce galoshes - so that she would not catch a cold, and specially found out the size of the shoes. Ilyich was also worried: "Bad times: typhus, influenza, Spanish flu, cholera. I just got up and I'm not going out. Nadia has 39°, and she asked to see you. How many degrees do you have? Whether it is necessary what for treatment. I beg you to write frankly. Get well! Your Lenin.

And Lenin also cared about spiritual food, as well as about the necessary material benefits for the patient. In particular, he wrote: "Dear friend! I'm sending you something to read. Return the newspapers (English), give us a call, we will send for them to you. Today after 4 you will have a good doctor. Do you have firewood. Can you cook at home? Are you being fed? And, finally, the last Leninist note of Armand during the period of illness, dated March 18, 1920: "Dear friend!

After the downgrade ° it is necessary to wait a few days.
Otherwise, pneumonia. Trust me. The Spanish flu is fierce now. Did you only have Spanish? What about bronchitis? Do you need more books?

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Write if they send food for Konstantinovich (her husband's sister Armand, an employee of the Moscow Party Committee. - B.S.). Write more.

Don't leave early!

Your Lenin.

(N.K. is getting better).

In general, in the period after the October Revolution, the letters and notes of Lenin Armand were quite rare. Lovers communicated directly or by phone. Indeed, with the exception of a three-month trip to France, Inessa was in Moscow almost all the time. Lenin, however, left the capital only for a short time - for rest.

Under the pseudonym Elena Blonina, Inessa Armand published many articles and brochures. She appealed mainly to working women, urging them to support Soviet power. For example, in the article "Workers, remember the village!" published in Pravda on October 30, 1919, during the period of the most difficult battles with Denikin, Inessa insisted: "The proletarian of the machine tool should lend a helping hand to her darker, more backward sister, the proletarian plow and attach her to her movement ... It is necessary to worker women to organize weekly Sunday trips out of town, to go around the Soviet farms and in each of them to talk with workers and workers, urge them to join trade unions, bring them newspapers, tell them all the news that excites the proletarians, make them this or that report ". But the "workers of the plow" did not have much sympathy for the "proletarians of the machine tool". Perhaps the reason for this was the surplus appropriation... Peasant women, as well as their husbands, could hardly have been delighted that bread was confiscated from the village for workers and Red Army men, and peasant families were sometimes doomed to starvation. True, the idea of linking the city with the countryside was eventually realized, but in a slightly different way than Inessa had imagined it to be. Workers and working women, as well as the working intelligentsia, really began to go to the exits.

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nym to collective farms and state farms, and during the agricultural season - even for whole weeks and months. Just don't read reports, don't share news, and don't join trade unions to agitate. And work in the fields. Because there were not enough workers in the countryside, and the collective farmers worked carelessly in the public fields, since they had no real incentive to work. Armand did not live to see such a "link". And if she did, she wouldn't be happy.

On one of Inessa's brochures, "Why did I become a defender of Soviet power?"

more. This is the only published work of Armand written, as the later Krupskaya pointed out, in a "semi-fictional form." And the brochure is intended, as Nadezhda Konstantinov rightly noted, "for the most gray worker." Most importantly, it is here that the inner world of Inessa Armand, some facts of her biography, and finally, how she rethought her own pre-revolutionary past is revealed to the greatest extent (except for the diary and letters).

Inessa wrote the brochure on behalf of a simple worker, in a language that was as accessible as possible for the mass of barely literate women. Stylistically, it turned out well - Ilyich's beloved definitely had a literary talent, which, unfortunately, she did not have time to develop. And as a propaganda tool, Armand's pamphlet is remarkable for its skillful use of traditional Bolshevik methods, through which the proletarians and peasants are killed.

They waited: the interventionists and the White Guards were to blame for the "temporary difficulties", and even the people themselves, who had not yet reached the proper consciousness and were not yet ready to unconditionally and recklessly support Lenin's party and selflessly work and fight to build a bright communist future.

Elena Blonina immediately informs the ingenuous readers who believe that they are dealing with a real

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life story: "I want to tell you how I understood what Soviet power was and why I took its side. It was so.

We have a lot of women working in the factory. Textiles. The people are getting darker. And here the food is bad, so be it, we and let's scold the Soviet government among ourselves: they don't give anything to the workers, they say ... "

As we remember, Inessa was married to a textile manufacturer. Did she have the right to classify herself as a tech style girl? She probably did in some way. That's due to the fact that the dark woman, Inessa, undoubtedly, was cunning. Still, besides Russian, she knew four languages and received a licentiate diploma at the New University of Brussels. You can bet that not a single employee of Pushkinskaya or any other Russian manufactory could boast of such an education. And Blonina's speech, of course, is much more correct, more literary than that of an ordinary

weavers of the beginning of the century.

But, let's pay tribute to Inessa Armand, she imagined the position of the prostrate workers firsthand. The experience of living in Pushkino and repeated visits to factories after 1917, frequent conversations with women who work for them, had an effect.

tavshimi. Inessa knew perfectly well that the workers were starving in the "unforgettable 1919," to use the title of a play by Vsevolod Vishnevsky that was popular at the time. Ilyich's girlfriend had to listen to abuse against the Soviets and the Bolsheviks more than once or twice. And in her pamphlet, Armand laid the blame for the "unhealthy moods" among the workers and women on ... intellectuals who allegedly did nothing but serve the masters, but now they are embarrassing the people, inciting them against Soviet power: "And here Pyotr Nikiforovich, a former foreman at our factory, is now working for us as a worker, everything is liquified, everything says that Soviet power is bad and we do not need anything ... "

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The insight to the heroine of the agitation comes along with the "conscious worker" Ivan, who works at the same factory with her. But it was with this pseudonym that Lenin signed some of the letters addressed to Inessa. In the brochure, under the influence of Ivan's preaching, a worker woman gains faith in Soviet power, just as Armand herself once believed in the correctness of the Bolsheviks under the influence of Lenin's book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Ivan reproaches nude heroes: "You shouldn't talk about Soviet power. Do you know what Soviet power is? I'm here and osskla, I do not know what to answer him. "Stupid," she says, "after all, Soviet power is our power, the power of workers and working women. It turns out that when you scold ss uselessly, you scold yourself. You don't understand anything."

"Well, well," I say, "and here Pyotr Nikiforovich scolds her too, both the teacher and the doctor." Ivan laughs. "Oh you! - speaks. Is it hard to understand? After all, all three of them are bourgeois, they always held the hand of the owner. How can they not scold the workers' power! And you already believed them!

It's really hard to understand and believe. In fact, Armand condemns his former self here. And for this, Inessa had to prevaricate. It was she who once served as a teacher in a working school, and by no means because she was the wife of a factory owner, she tried to make life easier for workers with the help of the Society for the Improvement of the Plight of Women. No, Inessa at that time thought that this was the only way to help the suffering and that the rich should voluntarily share with the poor in order to prevent poverty and hunger. Now she firmly believed that only a revolution would make a woman happy and free.

And when Inessa worked in the Society for the Improvement of the Plight of Women, she met many factory doctors. And she knew perfectly well that these people were by no means accomplices of the owners, but sincerely strived for the enlightenment of the workers, cared for their health. And the masters, for the most part, were by no means beasts who tried -

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Xia to tear off three skins from the unfortunate proletarians and those who supplied young workers for the master's pleasures. By the way, Alexander Armand did not seem to be doing anything reprehensible with the girls at his factory. But the interests of the revolution demanded to present a gloomy picture of the recent past and stigmatize the "bourgeois intelligentsia" who did not understand the delights of the new order.

In the pamphlet, the worker first objects to Ivan. "Well," I say, "he got it wrong: Soviet power and Soviet power! And what do we have from her? She didn't give us anything! But Ivan immediately has objections: "It's not true ... The Soviet government gave a lot to working women. Take at least the rights. Previously, under the rule of the bourgeoisie, the female worker was completely humiliated. She was a slave in the state, in the family, and in the factory. No matter how bad things were then for us workers, we were still able to choose our workers' representatives to fight the bourgeoisie. And your sister didn't have those rights either. All that was heard was that the woman is a fool, women have long hair, and short mind. Women should not be allowed anywhere, they should not be elected to any positions, they say. The bourgeois did not allow you to any elections. So you were unanswerable before him. And now, look! The worker, not on an equal footing with the worker, chooses to all institutions. Whether in a factory committee, in a trade union, or in the Soviet, women workers everywhere elect their deputies on equal terms with the workers. Only bourgeois and bourgeois are not allowed anywhere. If only we, in our Soviet, had women workers in charge of two departments. Do you remember Comrade Kollontai, so she was even a people's commissar.

Characteristically, out of innate modesty, Inessa chose not to cite herself as an example, but her friend Kollontai. Inessa, after joining the Bolsheviks, was a staunch opponent of feminism. She believed that any women's organizations should work under the control of the Communist Party and, first of all, defend the class interests of women workers and peasants. Inessa

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insisted: not to let the "bourgeois girls" anywhere. And the "bourgeois women" are those who, before the revolution, were the wives of merchants and manufacturers or worked as teachers and doctors, had an inappropriate class origin, but, unlike "comrade Inessa", did not stick to the Bolsheviks in time.

Let's get back to the brochure. Ivan reminds his simply stuffy interlocutor how badly working women lived under the damned tsarist regime: "Do you remember how it used to be at the factory? Who was the owner? The capitalist is the merchant Rastorguev, the director Upyrev, and this same Pyotr Nikiforovich, who was the master's master and first friend. Remember how they treated our brother

foxes. And what was it like for you, women? Further, he persuades his attentive listener: "Now in factories and factories you, the worker, are the master, together with the worker."

Then Ivan moves on to family life, where the Soviet government also made the working women a lot happy: "Now take family life. Under the old laws, when a woman married, she became a slave. Her husband was her master, whom she undertook to obey in everything, who was a full-fledged ruler over her and often beat and tortured her. And the woman had nowhere to look for the truth. Inessa, on behalf of her hero, suggested that the workers seek protection from the arbitrariness of the once raging spouse in the Soviets, which "now rule everything." And since workers and working women, peasants and peasant women, sit there, it means that they own the power, taken from the "bourgeois, kulaks and landowners", it is they who

are the masters of life."

So that the gloomy present does not look so gloomy, Inessa, on behalf of her heroine, recalls the past, which she paints with the blackest colors: "I came to my house. She got out and fed her Grishutka. I began to mend his trousers, and again I thought about Ivan's words ... I remembered how before, under the bourgeoisie, at the factory

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elk to us workers. The owner, a merchant Rastorguev, a fat one, had a beautiful house not far from the factory, surrounded by a garden. Yes, in Moscow he also had a mansion. They always used to have music, guests, noise. His wife is also full and beautiful. Dressed in velvet and silk. It used to happen that he would pass in a carriage, lounging, in response to our bows, he barely nods his head. And we, the workers, worked eleven hours a day, and even overtime. I lived in the basement. Gave up corners. Cramped, dark, damp. I spin like a squirrel in a wheel. During the day at the factory, and in the evening at home I work, wash, cook. The salary was quite small, there was nothing to live on. What's the point that there was a lot of everything in the stores. It was, but not about us! But we still lived from hand to mouth. It used to be that there was nothing to buy milk for the child. So my first one died. And the director Upyrev - that was also what a fierce one! Sometimes, not a single girl will be missed, and climbs to them. And the girl will push him away, well, that's the trouble! He will send this same Pyotr Nikiforovich. He finds fault, completely rejects the goods, otherwise he will completely drive him out of the gate: go, they say, pigeon, to all four sides. Many girls used to succumb to Upyrev simply because of a piece of bread.

Once, during the war, we, working women, were no longer able to bear it. Our husbands, brothers, have been fighting for the bourgeoisie for the third year already. And we were left alone with small children. The sting of the vanya is small, there is absolutely nothing to feed on. And then the winter was so cold. Our mogota was no more. We began to demand an increase in salary. Crowded out into the street

zu, shouted, clamored. We demand that we be paid more, so that there will be no more war. One worker had a red flag, and they went out into the street with a demonstration. Workers were also taken out in other factories. There were a lot of us. We go straight to the governor's square. As soon as we got there, it was full of soldiers. The officer shouts to us: "Disperse!" We're moving on. As he shouted again, the soldiers fired. Several works were killed then

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prostrate So, cordial, and lay, spread out, in the blood. And how many were beaten!"

Reading these lines is funny and sad at the same time. Inessa here refracts the facts of her own biography, as well as the biography of her first husband, in a very peculiar way. Let's start with the fact that Alexander Armand himself participated in a demonstration of the workers of his own factory on November 22, 1907, the day the trial of the Social Democratic faction of the State Duma began. Then dyers and weavers marched through the streets of Pushkin under red flags, singing revolutionary songs. Armand was in their ranks. In the end, the demonstration was dispersed by the police and the Cossacks, but, fortunately, no one was killed. Several dozen demonstrators, including Aleksandr Evgenievich, were arrested. However, Inessa's husband was soon released, banning residence in both capitals and large cities for two years. Alexander Evgenievich chose Dmitrov near Moscow as his place of residence, and then went to the north of France, to the city of Roubaix, where he studied the technology of dyeing fabrics at the Higher School of Applied Arts. Alexander Evgenievich did not look like a blood-sucker manufacturer from a propaganda brochure. And when describing the scene of the dispersal of the demonstration, Inessa used her impressions of the Moscow demonstrations of late 1904 - early 1905, when there were indeed many victims among the demonstrators.

In the pamphlet, the worker agrees with Ivan: "Yes, our lot was hard. Ivan tells the truth, we were slaves. Well, under Soviet power, all this cannot be. That is why now it is our workers' power. Now we are free birds. We ourselves establish orders everywhere ... "Here Inessa had to close her eyes to many uncomfortable things. If only for the fact that the Bolsheviks treated the demonstrations they did not like as harshly as the tsarist policemen and Cossacks. One dispersal of a peaceful demonstration in support of the Constituent Assembly in January 1918, which, by the way, also took place under red flags, even cost

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official, clearly underestimated data, at 9 killed and 22 wounded. And throughout Russia there were hundreds of such excesses.

Teroine Inessa is still tormented by doubts, nourished by the realities of life: "Why doesn't the Soviet government make it so that we, working women, live quite well?" And she again falls into the heresy of disbelief: "...After some time there was such a case. All the time they gave out a small bread ration with everything, then for several days they stopped giving at all. She ran for milk, and the milk cost 40 rubles in a mug. I got tired in the queues. And at home, as if it were a sin, not a grain of flour was left. Well, what can you do! Gri's joke is screaming, asking for food. Such anger took me! I sit on the bed, I almost cry. I think: this is how Soviet power is! After all, there are no bourgeois in the Soviets. Our own workers, our own working women are sitting. Why don't they help us workers? It's hard for us! First, it's a simple day at the factory, then stand in lines, then mess around with laundry at home! And then there are the guys! Well, how to feed them, drink them when there is no bread! Look, Grishutka's fingers are already crawling out of her shoes, and there's no time to buy boots. And again, I'm at the factory all day long. How can I look after him? Here, a neighbor has a small child - so she has absolutely no one to leave him to. So he takes him with him to the factory, he sits there between the machines. Well, isn't that okay! This already seems to be the first thing our working women should think about. And they, tea, sit there in the Soviets, they beat the buckets, but they forget about us factory workers. Give me, I think, I'll run to Ivan, let him answer me. And then the Soviets, the Soviets, but they forgot about us, the working women!

This is followed by an almost documentary sketch of Inessa's visit to Lenin and Krupskaya: "I ran to Ivan. It boils at the heart. He is sitting at tea, sorting through some papers. His wife is sitting right there, drinking tea. I sat next to him. "Well," I say, "Ivan, you keep saying that power is in our hands. But now we, the workers, and our children are sitting without bread. Soldering, that's really what day you are not

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give. What are you thinking about there? Why don't you make sure that there is bread on time? We did not elect you for this, so that you would sit on chairs in the Soviets. And you keep talking, organizing rallies, organizing meetings, but you don't do things!" She said so much that another speaker would not have said in a whole hour!

The heroine of the brochure admires: "I explained how I put it in my mouth" (supporters of psychoanalysis will probably interpret this phrase as Armand's subconscious dream of oral sex with Ilyich). But all the same, he objects: "It's good for you to invite: 'fight with us!'" And what would you sing when you had to be at home with the kids and take care of the household? Ehma. No way the Soviet government takes care of us!" "It is not true," says Ivan, "that the Soviet government does not care about you working women. Look, we are opening a nursery for small children at our plant. So I'm going to send guys there. And besides, they arrange a dining room. So you don't have to cook dinner at home. Although this is difficult

hour, but still the Soviet government opens free canteens, gives children additional rations free of charge. They are going to make all the maintenance of children absolutely free. Previously, the children of working women spent more and more time in the basements, but now the Soviet government is pulling them out from under the ramparts and transferring them to good, bright apartments, in which the bourgeois used to live. Things are moving, therefore, towards freeing us working women, and even peasant women, from household chores, in order to transfer all care for children to the state. There are still not enough canteens, nurseries, kindergartens. You can't change everything at once. Well, let's build more! You workers must help the Soviet government in this. Without you, without your help, we workers cannot create a new life. I will say it again: if you want to free yourself, build, work, fight with us."

Here Armand echoes longstanding Marxist ideas about women's liberation from housework and childcare. It is felt that in this case Inessa writes

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not entirely from the heart, rather out of duty. After all, the worker-mother speaks very warmly about the same Grishutka and her other children. It is hard to imagine that the heroine of the pamphlet with great readiness would give the whole care of her own children to the state. In our country, as well as all over the world, women, of course, would be happy to get rid of a significant part of household chores such as washing, cooking, cleaning, the need to sit with small children around the clock. But not at all in order to spend the freed time at the machine tool for a meager salary or in the collective farm field for a symbolic workday. And no real mother will ever want to transfer all care for children to any, even the best state. Inessa was a mother herself and understood this very well. After all, she tried to use every opportunity to be with her children, and on her last trip to Kislovodsk she went with her youngest son, Andryusha, who, by the way, was not so small - 17 years old! But the interests of the revolution required the involvement of women in production, instead of the men who served in the Red Army. And Inessa stood up for the state education of children, although she hardly believed in its effectiveness. For the sake of an idea, for the sake of the party, for the sake of Lenin, people had to be deceived. Inessa thought that it was necessary, that it would help build a better future, where children could be brought up quite harmoniously. Hungry weekdays of working women, with a meager and not every day bread ration, heavy and, in fact, free work, could be countered as achievements of the new government only free nurseries and canteens. The meager menu of the latter was still better than lunch or dinner at home, where at least a rolling ball.

But the most curious thing is that Ivan's monologue, it seems, was not only the fruit of Armand's creative imagination. It turns out that it goes back to the real words of Lenin.

In 1933, in the 45th issue of the Russian magazine "Illustrated Russia", published in Paris, appeared

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article "Lenin in power". Its author took refuge under the pseudonym "Chronicler". It is possible that Boris Bazhanov, the former secretary of the Orgburo and the Politburo, who fled to the West in 1929 and settled in Paris, signed this way. Or maybe it was already familiar to us G.A. Aleksinsky, who published in the same "Illustrated Russia" the memoirs of Elizabeth K.?

In any case, The Chronicler, without any sympathy, wrote about the leader of the world proletariat: "From the very beginning, he perfectly understood that the peasantry would not go for the sake of the new order, not only for selfless sacrifices, but also for the voluntary return of the fruits of their labor. And alone with his closest collaborators, Lenin did not hesitate to say exactly the opposite of what he had to say and write officially. When it was pointed out to him that even the children of the workers, i.e., of the very class for whose sake and in whose name the coup was carried out, were not eating enough and were even starving, Lenin retorted the complaint indignantly: "The government cannot give them bread. Sitting here, in St. Petersburg, you won't get bread. You have to fight for bread with a rifle in your hands... If they don't know how to fight, they'll die of starvation! It is quite possible that one of those closest collaborators with whom Ilyich shared his revelations about the ways in which the proletariat could earn its living was Armand. Because about the same, only in a milder form, Bolshevik Ivan (Lenin) convinced the worker.

It is curious that this story of the Chronicler was reflected in Mikhail Bulgakov's novel The Master and Margarita. There, one of the episodic characters is the "dramatic artist" Savva Potapovich Kurolesov, who, with the help of Pushkin's "The Miserly Knight", convinces the arrested currency traders "voluntarily" to give the state all the currency and valuables. In an earlier edition of the novel, this unsympathetic character was called much more transparently - Ilya Vladimirovich 'Akulinov. In the final text of The Master and Margarita

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Bulgakov gave the character a less risky first, middle and last name so as not to tease future censors.

When Lenin talked about the need for the workers to get their own bread with a rifle in their hand, when Inessa wrote a pamphlet calling on the workers to support the Soviet government and believe that it is better than any other, they did not know their future. But here is the real

'otherwise they knew. And it was much worse than the "cursed tsarist past."

But in the pamphlet, Inessa still convinces the workers that anyone is to blame for their troubles: the deposed tsar, the bourgeoisie and landowners, the interventionists and the White Guards, at worst, the workers themselves, who are not actively helping the new government put the yoke on themselves. Everyone is to blame, anyone, but not the Bolsheviks. And the pamphlet is crowned by a delegate meeting of working women, where Ivan invited his friend Elena Blonina. And for the meeting, Inessa did not hesitate to provide the former Armand house, turned into a working club: "I got there for the first time (is it really the first? - B.S.). I wasn't interested before... I looked: real mansions. The ceilings and walls are painted. Blue silk furniture, silk curtains... I think: this is how our merchants used to live..." It must be assumed that Armand described her former house accurately, down to the details of the situation. Moreover, she painted her own portrait as a woman in a red headscarf, whose speech I listened to: "Blond, so pretty, and so well began to talk to us about our life, I even cried. She said both about Denikin and Kolchak that we and our children are being washed away without bread. So she touched me. I thought that I was educated, but it turned out that I was also a worker, she left the machine for only a year (with a licentiate degree from the University of Brussels! - B.S.). I didn't know that workers could speak so well. I listen to her and think: it is true that Denikin and Kolchak are the fault of cotton wool. But why are we fighting them?

main character:

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Although I was afraid, and very unusual, but I could not bear it, I took it and asked: "But why doesn't the Soviet government end the war?" The speaker looked at me with such a sweet smile on her young face and said: "The Soviet government does not want war. It does not want to shed the blood of workers and peasants. How many times has our Soviet government offered peace to all the governments fighting against us. But the bourgeois want only one thing: to strangle the working class, to drown it in blood. See how Denikin brutally cracks down on the workers and peasants in the Ukraine. He spares no one. We have to fight them for our freedom, for bread, for coal, for our most vital cause, for a better life, for communism. Help, working women, in this struggle of the Red Army, and with our united efforts we will defeat the enemies and achieve peace forever.

Let's estimate: Armand, unlike Krupskaya, had something to lose before going "into the revolution". Not only dearly beloved children, but also quite tangible wealth. But she did not hesitate to put aside her happy past. All the more respect deserves Inessa's conviction in the rightness of her cause, the cause of the revolution. But the fact that such

a pretty, not only outwardly but also inwardly, woman, like Inessa Armand, being of sound mind and firm memory, became a professional revolutionary, more than a Vichka, and then fell in love with Lenin and was loved by him. After all, this love does not cancel those countless crimes committed by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the name of the triumph of Marx's communist ideas...

The same Chronicler stated: "Lenin was in no way an admirer or follower of the Marquis de Sade. He was not cruel either by nature or by illness. He was cruel in conviction, ideologically, in the interests of the cause—the revolution—of socialism. He literally repeated more than once the words of Collot d'Herbois (one of the leaders of the Jacobins. - B.S.): in the name of achieving one's revolutionary goals, everything is permitted! And the agents of the Leninist government in the center and in the regions before

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showed that for them there really is nothing that is not permitted. Indeed, in applying terror in the widest possible way, Vladimir Ilyich was guided solely by considerations of political expediency, and not by any feelings or emotions. Trotsky recalled how in the first months after the victory of the October Revolution, when many Bolshevik leaders, including Lev Davidovich himself, still had hopes that they would be able to avoid the mass use of "revolutionary violence", Lenin immediately began to convince them that without terror in no way possible. When, on the initiative of Lev Borisovich Kamenev, the law adopted under Kerensky on the restoration of the death penalty at the front was repealed, Lenin's indignation knew no bounds. He knew that it would be necessary to shoot not only at the front, but also in the rear. "Nonsense," repeated Ilyich more than once. - How can you make a revolution without executions? Do you really think that you can defeat all your enemies by disarming yourself? What other measures of repression are there? Imprisonment? Who attaches importance to it during a civil war, when each side hopes to win? And he proposed to immediately cancel the decree abolishing the death penalty at the front. According to Trotsky, "they objected to him, pointing out that this would produce an extremely unfavorable impression. Someone said: it is better to simply resort to execution when it becomes clear that there is no other way out. In the end, they stopped there." This practice turned out to be very convenient. As a result, executions began not on the basis of laws or even decrees, but simply in an administrative manner, on the basis of decisions of the central and local Cheka.

On June 26, 1918, Lenin wrote to Zinoviev indignantly: "Comrade. Zinoviev! Only today we heard in the Central Committee that the workers in St. Petersburg wanted to respond to the murder of Volodarsky with mass terror, and that you (not you personally, but the St. Petersburg Central Committee or Pekists) held back. I object strongly! We compromise ourselves: we threaten even in the resolutions of the Soviet

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depa with mass terror, and when it comes down to it, we slow down the revolutionary initiative of the masses, which is quite correct. This is impossible! The terrorists will consider us rags. Archival time. We must encourage the energy and mass character of terror against the counter-revolutionaries, and especially in St. Petersburg, whose example decides. Hello! Lenin. More simply, Lenin's thought can be conveyed as follows: "Evseich! How can it be so - the kind of terror requires, but you do not allow! Yes, they will stop being afraid of us! Look, otherwise we'll shoot for an example, so that the masses won't be offended! Even though you and I in exile have drunk more than one tank of beer. And Grigory Evseevich did not disappoint. He fulfilled and exceeded the leader's demand, turning Petrograd into an exemplary city from the point of view of staging the cause of mass terror there.

Lenin himself in 1919 in an interview with the American. To the writer and journalist L. Steffens, he developed a whole philosophy of terror, its practical justification: "Terror serves what it should serve ... We must find some way to get rid of the bourgeoisie, the upper classes. They will not let us make any economic changes that they would not have made before the revolution, therefore. they must be kicked out of here... The only solution I see is that the threat of the Red Terror should spread the terror and force them to flee. No matter how it is done, it must be done..." At the same time, Ilyich kept silent about one important circumstance: in order to confuse the "upper classes", for some reason, a fair number of representatives of the middle and lower classes had to be sent to the next world for company: intellectuals, officers, peasants, and sometimes "irresponsible" proletarians. For example, in Izhevsk and Votkinsk, where they preferred to fight with weapons in their hands on the side of the Committee of the Constituent Assembly, and later Kolchak, and where the executions of hostages and repressions against working families by the Reds were especially cruel.

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At the same time, in the summer of 1918, when the threat of the capture of Baku by Turkish troops arose, Lenin proposed burning the entire city (fortunately, this idea was not implemented). And on October 9, 1918, he proposed to the Nizhny Novgorod Provincial Committee "to induce mass terror at that hour, shoot and take out hundreds of prostitutes, soldering soldiers, former officers, etc. Considering that under military communism, the Red Army soldiers were one of the few who always received a reasonable, they undoubtedly became a tasty prey for prostitution. And in conditions when almost the entire population was starving, almost the majority of women were forced to engage in prostitution to one degree or another. Thus, under the influence of Lenin's instructions, probably, she could freely fall, especially considering the meaningful "etc.

etc., the bulk of the population. Yes, Ilyich sternly offered to deal with those whom Inessa, in her younger years, unsuccessfully tried to wrest from the embrace of vice.

But not only them Lenin was ready to sacrifice the revolution. For example, in mid-August 1920, just when such a sincere letter to Inessa was being written with a proposal to take a rest in the Caucasus, Lenin proposed to punish the Baltic states for obstinacy in the following way: "we will go 10-20 versts and hang kulaks, priests, and landlords. Prize 100,000 rubles. for the hanged man." And Trotsky moved to Petrograd on October 22, 1919, in the most intense days of the struggle against Yudenich, wrote: "If the offensive has begun, is it possible to mobilize another 20 thousand St. Petersburg workers plus 10 thousand bourgeois, put machine guns behind them, shoot several hundred and achieve real mass pressure on Yudenich? And on August 10, 1918, three weeks before the shootings, Kaplan sent a note to the People's Commissar for Food A.D. Tsyurup: "Draft decree - in each grain volost 25-30 hostages from the rich, responsible for the life of collecting and pouring all the surplus."

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And sometimes the leader killed not with a bullet, but with hunger. So he wrote in February 1920: "... Reduce the cash ration for those who are not working in transport; increase for workers. Let thousands more die, but the country will be saved." The idea that in order to build a new communist society it would be necessary to exterminate part of the population proved to be very tenacious. The worthy successor of Lenin, Pol Pot, the head of the Khmer Rouge, believed, for example, that out of the seven million population of Cambodia, only two million were worthy of a brighter future, and the remaining five must die, and the sooner the better.

Of course, neither Armand nor Krupskaya could have known all the documents of this kind. It can even be assumed (although this is doubtful) that they have never seen a single Leninist "terrorist" document. But about the implementation of the "Red Terror", about the widely practiced taking of hostages and their subsequent execution, both Nadezhda Konstantinovna and Inessa Fedorovna had to draw information every day at least from newspapers, because the Bolsheviks did not hide terror at all. And from official papers, both women probably received some information about what was happening in the country. And they could not but understand that the initiator of the terror is none other than their adored Ilyich. But Armand and Krupskaya approved of the repressions against the "counter-revolutionaries", justified them as a response to the "white terror". Although, in fact, no "white" government has pursued terror as a state policy. Separate excesses of the army chiefs and counterintelligence officials in scope could not be compared with the "Red Terror". But Ines and Nadezhda not only accepted and approved of terror. They

continued to love its creator.

This suggests a comparison with Eva Braun, Adolf Hitler's longtime mistress, on the eve of the collapse of the Third World, who became the Fuhrer's wife and committed suicide with him. The difference between her and Lenin's women is bro

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gets in the eyes. The terror envisioned by the Nazis, in particular the tenocide against Jews and Gypsies, was hidden from the public eye. The German newspapers did not report on mass executions and repressions in the occupied territories. Not only millions of Germans, but also many of Tytler's inner circle did not know about the tragic fate of millions of Jews and thought that they had simply been resettled somewhere far to the East. In the same way, indifferent to politics, Eve did not know what her dear Adolf was doing, and was ready to be with him both in life and in death.

But Krupskaya and Armand were in a different position. They knew about the affairs of the Soviet government, if not everything, then very much. Revolution and communism were for them not only the work of a loved one, but also their own work. Moreover, Inessa and Nadezhda loved Lenin not only as a man, but also as a political leader. And in the end they were forced to accept Lenin's morality: everything that is good for the revolution is moral and good. And those who loved them saw, first of all, strong, strong-willed men followed by millions, men who served great ideas, the ideas of equality and race, brotherhood and soil, earthly paradise and national rebirth. Such ideas seemed to justify the blood shed for them.

Armand certainly believed in the revolution. But, who knows, if Inessa had lived longer, after Lenin's death she would not have turned into an opponent of Marxism, into a resolute critic of the Soviet experience in building socialism. After all, another "woman of the Russian revolution" — Anzhelika Balabanova — did a similar evolution. If Inessa followed her example, then she would have two possible fates. Or disappear during one of Stalin's purges. Either return to their homeland, to France, and start a new life there - either a pianist, or a writer, or a political publicist, but already defending views that are directly opposite to the previous ones.

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However, if she survived Lenin, but did not change her convictions, there could also be two options for fate. As a representative of the old guard of the Bolsheviks, Inessa had a chance of dying in 1937, especially if she had had time to take part in some kind of opposition by that time. After all, in the tables of party members, and even more so of the people, the name Armand does not

associated with the name of Lenin, and after death Ilyich could not defend her in any way.

But it could have happened otherwise: Inessa would not have fallen into the meat grinder of repression or escaped with the Gulag. I would have lived until the thaw, I would have written my memoirs "My meetings with Lenin." There, in obedience to party discipline, she would not say a word about her love for Ilyich. Everything is only about the fulfillment of Lenin's orders, about the wise thoughts of the leader, about his shadowy foresight. Moreover, probably not at all cunning, about Lenin's humanity and kindness. Inessa was one of the few people who truly had the right to write about Lenin in this way. But she was not destined to live up to the memoirs. Judgment but it was different. Armand's life path was coming to an end. And involuntarily, the role of the evil genius here was played by the most precious person for her.

After the International Conference of Communist Women, held within the framework of the Second Congress of the Comintern, Inessa, according to Krupskaya, "could hardly stand on her feet." After all, I had to work 14-16 hours a day. Ilyich was very concerned about the state of health of his mistress and in the middle of August 1920 wrote her a letter with a proposal to go to rest in some sanatorium. He could not imagine that it would be the last one: "Dear friend! It was very sad to know that you were overtired and dissatisfied with work and others (or work colleagues). Can I help you by arranging in a sanatorium? With great pleasure I will help in every possible way. If you are going to France, I am ready, of course, to help too; I'm afraid, and even afraid only, I'm very afraid that you'll fly in there... They'll arrest you and won't let you out for a long time... You should be more careful.

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Wouldn't it be better to go to Norway (many people speak English there) or to Holland? Or to Germany as a Frenchwoman, a Russian (or Canadian?) subject? It would be better not to France, otherwise you will be imprisoned there for a long time and even hardly exchanged for anyone. Better not to France.

And here Ilyich describes the pleasures of rest on Russian soil (he had just returned from the well-known Zabolotye near Sergiev Posad, where he hunted in the forests that formerly belonged to the Armands): one call. Work used to be good, now everything is ruined. Everywhere I heard your last name: "There was order under them (Armandach. - B.S.), etc.

If you don't like the sanatorium, why not go south? To Sergo in the Caucasus? Sergo will arrange rest, the sun (I'm afraid even the all-powerful Leninist governor of the Caucasus, Ordzhonikidze, could not cope with nature, but Lenin, it seems, already believed that the course of the heavenly bodies was in the hands of the Bolsheviks. - B.S.), good work, probably will do. He is the power there. Think about it".

To her misfortune, Inessa listened to Lenin's advice and decided, together with her youngest son Andrei, to rest in the Caucasus. Already on August 18, Ilyich wrote to Ordzhonikidze: "Vol. Ser go! Inessa Armand is leaving today. I ask you not to forget your promise. It is necessary that you telegraph to Kislovodsk, give the order to arrange for her and her son to be properly arranged and to follow up the execution. They won't do a damn thing without checking the execution (the leader knew his native bureaucrats very well. - B.S.). Please answer me by letter, and if possible, by telegram: "I received the letter, I will do everything, I will put the check correctly." I kindly ask you, in view of the dangerous situation in the Kuban, to establish contact with Inessa Armand so that she and her son are evacuated, if necessary, in time to Petrovsk and Astrakhan, or arrange (the son is sick) in the mountains near the Caspian coast and generally take all measures.

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Lenin also provided Inessa with a letter of recommendation addressed to the management of the resorts and sanatoriums of the Caucasus: "I ask you to help in every possible way the best arrangement. and the treatment of the giver, comrade. Inessa Fyodorovna Armand, with her sick son. I ask you to give these party comrades, personally known to me, full confidence and all possible assistance. And signed as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. This letter brings a smile. The assertion that Lenin allegedly knows Inessa's son as a trustworthy "party comrade" is very amusing. After all, Andrei was then only seventeen years old, and he was not a member of the party. Either Ilyich was in a hurry, or he decided that butter would not spoil the porridge: let them consider Andrei a party member, perhaps they will take better care of it. And they won't leave if the detachments of whites hiding in the mountains suddenly come to the sanatorium.

Sergo did everything right. He provided the best sanatorium in Kislovodsk, and helped to get there as soon as possible. In Kislovodsk, Inessa for the first time began to keep a diary, to the limit of frank conversations with herself. The diary has been saved. It so happened that just before her death, Inez opened her soul to us. This diary is worth quoting almost in full:

"SHX 1920. Now there is time, I will write every day, although my head is heavy, and it still seems to me that I have turned into some kind of stomach here, which endlessly asks for food. And you don't hear or know about anything here. In addition, some kind of wild desire for loneliness. It tires me even when others are talking around me, not to mention the fact that it is difficult for me to speak positively myself. Will this feeling of inner death ever go away? I have come to the point that seems strange to me that others laugh so easily and that they seem to enjoy talking. Now I almost never laugh and smile, not because an inner joyful feeling prompts me to do so, but because sometimes I have to smile. me so-

What strikes me is my present indifference to nature. After all

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She used to amaze me so much. And how little I now began to love people. Before, I used to approach each person with a warm feeling. Now I am equally stuffy to everyone. And most importantly, I miss almost everyone. Hot feelings remained only for the children and for V.I. In all other respects the heart seems to have died out. As if, having given all his strength, all his passion to V.I. and the cause of work, all sources of love, sympathy for the people for whom it used to be so rich were exhausted in it! I don't have any more, except for the V.I. and my children, any personal relationships with people, but only business ones. And people feel this deadness in me, and they repay with the same coin of indifference or even antipathy (but I was loved before). And now the ardent attitude to the matter is drying up. I am a man whose heart is gradually dying... Lazarus risen from the dead is involuntarily remembered. This Lazarus knew death, and the imprint of death remained on him, which frightens and repels all people from him. And I, too, am a living corpse, and it's terrible! Especially now, when life is bubbling around."

Very symptomatic! During the three years of the revolution and the Civil War, Inessa from a cheerful, not yet old woman, striving to help people, turned into some kind of shadow of a person, as she herself defines it, into a living corpse. What is left in her life? Love for Ilyich, his children and the revolution. But Inessa already has some doubts about the revolution. Otherwise, there would not have been words in her diary to the effect that "now the ardent attitude to the matter is drying up", that she no longer has personal relations with anyone except children and Lenin, which means that they do not exist with comrades in the struggle either. Let Armand always propagandize the public education of children, the weakening of the influence of the family on the younger generation. At the end of her life, she came to two main life values: family and love. These values, personified by children and Elijah

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why, perhaps, even against the will of Inessa, thoughts about the revolution were pushed into the background.

The next entry in Armand's diary is dated September 3, 1920. Here is her text: "I didn't write yesterday, I went for a walk, and then I couldn't write, because there is no light bulb in our room. Here, in Kislovodsk, there is little else to do. Power was taken recently, and therefore all the characteristic features of such an initial stage of power. The current Kislo Vodsk reminds me very much of 1918 in Moscow. The same disorder, the same fragility of the authorities, associated with assassination attempts, riots, etc. Only here the situation

more difficult, because there is no proletariat, which in Moscow and the Moscow province has always been a reliable support in the most difficult moments. There is not much proletariat here, and little work has been done in the villages, I must confess, I have no idea how to carry on the work here.

There are many large owners in the villages - rich peasants. In the mountains, according to rumors, gangs of whites still walk. The other day, two responsible workers were killed. Some patients in this regard are very worried - they are afraid of an attack. I'm a little afraid only for Andryusha - for my dear son. I am rather weak in this respect - not at all like a Roman matron who easily sacrifices her children in the interests of the republic. I can't. I am incredibly afraid for my children. I cannot keep them from danger—I have no right to keep them. But I suffer from this and fear for them endlessly. I have never been a coward for myself, but I am a big coward when it comes to my children and especially Andryusha. I can't even think of what it would be like if he ever had to go to the front, and I'm afraid he'll have to. After all, the war will continue for a long time. Someday our foreign comrades will rise.

Yes, we are still far from the time when the interests of the individual and the interests of society will fully coincide. Now our lives are full of sacrifices. There is no personal life because all the time and energy are given to the common cause. Or maybe

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maybe I don't know how, maybe others still carve out at least a small corner of happiness for themselves? Relations between people are strange these days. Right now I am watching a scene, though not from real life, but from the life of a resort. There are no old relationships before them - what used to be called acquaintance. In general, in life, people no longer go to visit each other. Relationships are more businesslike. Here in the resort, especially on rainy evenings, they go to each other "just like that." And yet, this is not quite what it was before, although there is certainly still a lot of philistine in the public.

In this entry, anxiety for the fate of children is striking. I must say right away that Inessa's fears about the fate of her youngest son turned out to be prophetic. Andrei really had to go to the front, only 21 years later, and his mother did not live to see it. In 1941, Andrei Alexandrovich went to fight as part of the Moscow militia, and at the front he finally joined the party. He did not live to see the victory: the strength of the disease

Inessa, until the last days of her life, continued to idealize the proletariat, to believe in the extraordinary ability of this class to create a new one. She explained the difficulties with the establishment of Soviet power and the establishment of a normal life in Kislovodsk and its environs by the almost complete absence of proletarians in this region. At the same time, Armand felt that something was wrong in that

system, the triumph of which she devoted almost her entire life. Inessa saw a growing gap between personal interests and goals set on behalf of society. She confessed that she was not ready to sacrifice her children to the revolution. Namely, such sacrifice was proclaimed a social ideal.

And further. Inessa noticed that relations between people, even convinced party members, did not become, as they dreamed before the revolution, sincere and pure, devoid of "philistine". Probably, by this word she meant ordinary holiday romances, which she witnessed before

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was meant to be. Such a fleeting affair was not for Inesa. Only Vladimir Ilyich was for her the object of love passion. And to unite with him, Inessa thought, if it was possible, it would not be very soon - after the victory of the world revolution, when the "foreign comrades" would rise. As long as the class war rages on, the Bolshevik leader will not be able to arrange his personal life.

After September 3, there is a big break in the records. The next time, Inessa turned to the diary only on September 9th. She again wrote about the growing alienation from those around her: "It seems to me that I walk among people, trying to hide my secret from them - that I am a dead man among people, that I am a living corpse. Like a good actor who repeats over and over again a scene that no longer excites or inspires him, I repeat from memory the appropriate gestures, smile, facial expression, even words that I used before when I actually experienced the feelings they express. . But my heart remains dead, my soul is silent, and I fail to completely hide my sad secret from people. I still feel some kind of chill, and people feel it and shun me. I understand that this phenomenon is rooted in physiological causes - overwork of the nerves? neurasthenia? Something like that. But it is hardly curable. I am no longer tired, I am tired of inaction, but the inner deadness remains. And since I can no longer give warmth, since I no longer radiate this warmth, I can no longer give happiness to anyone.

Inessa did not dare to admit even to herself that, of course, it was not a matter of physiology, not overwork, not exhaustion of the nervous system. Everything was much more serious. Inessa was afraid to write even in the most intimate diary that she was disappointed in the revolution. Her soul became dead because it lost the core idea. Too much blood had to be shed to ensure the triumph of the "proletarian revolution". Why are there so many people

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How does he not want to understand his own happiness? And why does she herself no longer experience inner satisfaction from the fact that she is working for the good of the revolution? Inessa certainly had these thoughts latently.

Of course, Armand did not personally participate in the implementation of the "Red Terror". But she could not but know about him from the newspapers and from the stories of her comrades. And in the Kislovodsk sanatorium I could directly observe the "Red Terror" in action. After all, the murder of two responsible workers by the White Guards, mentioned in the diary, did not remain without consequences. As one of those who rested with Inessa, Yevsey Richterman, recalled, "terror begins around the corner against responsible workers (comrades Zentsov and Lonin were killed). We are responding with red terror." In this case, this most likely meant the taking hostage and execution of several wealthy citizens, as well as those who were suspected of counter-revolutionary activities. As a rule, the victims were innocent, who were not involved in any crimes against the Soviet power. But Inessa did not write anything about the "Red Terror" in Kislovodsk in her diary. So, it was not a wonder for her and did not cause any condemnation. Maybe she believed that the Bolsheviks only shot the notorious enemies of the revolution. Or did she adopt the revolutionary principle: they cut down the forest - the chips fly?

Inessa made the following entry on September 10: "Yesterday I read the report on the Congress of the Peoples of the East and was very worried. This most important event—this congress, just like the congress of the Third International—astonishingly soldered the movement of the workers of different countries, soldered it not by revolution, but actually in action, in exactly the same way, I think, the Congress of the Peoples of the East will be able to weld together in action. performances of these peoples. It is only interesting to what extent it will be possible to actually make the resolutions of the Congress the property of the broad masses of the Eastern peoples. Somehow I don't believe this is possible. After all, everything is still so wild, so dark there.

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The Congress of the Peoples of the East, which was held in Baku, adopted a resolution on the reburial of the bodies of 26 Baku commissars here, including Yakov Zevin, well known to Inessa. They certainly met in Moscow in 1917, until Zevin went to Baku in August, and Inessa already knew for sure what the real name of her dear Savva was. Perhaps Armand was so interested in the congress of the peoples of the East because she stumbled upon a familiar name, remembered their short love, mourned the death of a Parisian friend? And she did not know that she herself had only a few days left to live.

It is also noteworthy that Inessa doubted the feasibility of the goals proclaimed by the party, even if only in relation to the countries of the East, in her opinion, wild and dark. But, knowing Western Europe well, didn't she see that in terms of the level of civilization from France or Switzerland to Russia?

this one is very far away, but in terms of the predominance of the peasantry and the level of literacy, is it closer to India or China? Didn't she then, in the autumn of 1920, cast doubt on the success of the socialist experiment in our country? After all, the Russian outback, where Inessa happened to be in exile, seemed to her wild and dark, like the unknown East.

The last entry in the diary was made on September 11, 1920 (which the latter, of course, Inessa did not assume): "I just re-read it" 5. The Magician (French Romantic writer Alfred Victor de Vigny's novel *Saint-Mar*. - B.S.) - strikes me how far we have gone, thanks to the revolution, from the previous romantic ideas about the meaning of love in human life. For romantics, love takes first place in a person's life, it is above all. And until recently, I was much closer to this idea than I am now. True, for me, love was never the only one. Along with love there was a public cause. Both in my life and in the past there were many cases when for the sake of a cause I sacrificed my happiness and my love. But still, it seemed before that, in its meaning, love has the same place as in general

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real business. Now this is no longer the case. The significance of love in comparison with social life becomes quite small, not bearing any comparison with public affairs. True, even now love occupies a large place in my life, makes me suffer greatly, occupies my thoughts considerably. But still, I never cease to realize that no matter how much it hurts me, love, personal attachments are nothing compared to the needs of the struggle. That is why the views of the romantics, which previously seemed quite acceptable, now already seem ... "

At these words, the recording abruptly ends. Armand never had time to finish it. Cases connected with the threat of attack by the Whites and the hasty evacuation from Kislovodsk, and then the illness, distracted her from the diary. Poor Inessa tried to remake her soul, akin just to the souls of the romantics of the 19th century. I tried to convince myself that in the new, twentieth century, love is inevitably pushed into the background by the need to serve the public good. But she immediately admitted that she had repeatedly sacrificed love and happiness for the cause of the revolution. This means that true happiness was brought to Inessa after all by love, and not by revolutionary struggle. Maybe she meant not only love for Lenin as an example when she had to sacrifice the personal in favor of the public, but also an earlier love for the already deceased Savva?

Inessa emphasized that the feeling for Ilyich even now occupies a place in her soul, no less than a revolution. And she suffered, probably, from the fact that she was forced to be away from her beloved. Although she suffered no less because, being next to Lenin in Moscow, only because

I rarely saw him.

After the last entry, there was also the last letter to my daughter Inessa, sent in mid-September: "My dear Inusya, perhaps you have now returned from your expedition and are in Moscow. Just in case, I am writing to you.

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We have been in Kislovodsk for 3 weeks already, and I can't say that so far we have especially recovered with Andrey. True, he has become very refreshed and tanned, but so far he has not put on weight at all ... At first I slept all day and night. Now, on the contrary, I sleep very badly. I take sunbaths and showers, but the sun here is not particularly hot, not like the Crimean one, and the weather is not very good: frequent storms, and yesterday it was so cold with everything. In general, I can't say that I was very delighted with Kislovodsk ...

We made it through rather successfully, although we traveled the last part of the journey with long stops, and after us for several days the trains did not run at all. There are a lot of rumors here - you won't get it, panic too. However, now everything has calmed down more or less... At times it seems: why not stay and work in the Caucasus? How do you think?"

The daughter read this letter after the death of her mother. It shows that Inessa Armand spent her last rest in her life joylessly. And the reason for this is not bad weather, obviously insufficient and monotonous food, or too much overwork in the previous months. Inessa's rest was poisoned by heavy emotional experiences associated with both the revolution and Lenin. Interestingly, although she actively disliked Kislovodsk, she seriously considered staying in the Caucasus for a longer period, finding some work here. A striking coincidence with Krupskaya's earlier intention to stay and work in the Urals. Did Yiu Armand have an idea to "escape" from Lenin for a while? Didn't she suspect that Ilyich's sympathies had again swung in the direction of Nadezhda Konstantinovna

It so happened that there are more memories of the last days of Inessa Armand than of her entire previous life. That's what I remember, for example, more Vik GN. Kotov, who knew Inessa from Paris and met her again in the Kislovodsk sanatorium: "Bringing himself to an extreme degree of fatigue and exhaustion, comrade. Ines

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sa finally came to the Caucasus to rest and get better for further work. In the Caucasus, I met her not at work, but through the same misfortune that she had, that is,

illness ("real Bolsheviks" were supposed to rest only because of misfortune - illness! - B.S.). As old acquaintances and as well-disposed comrades to each other, we tried to settle down in one of the so-called sanatoriums in Kislovodsk, closer to each other.

Knowing Comrade Inessa as a sociable comrade and as cheerful at every moment when meeting with comrades, this time I saw something was wrong, something was not right. Of course, the change became clear to me very soon. Remaining the same, she was simply exhausted from fatigue, from overwork. She needed to be alone in silence, and she did it. She went into the mountains and into the forest alone. I tried many times to involve her in playing croquet and invited her to sit in the company that was there, but in response I received: "Later, we will still have time, but for now I will go to rest in the sun. If it were not for her youngest son Andryusha ... who was my cheerful companion, and if it were not necessary to dine on the bell, etc., then it seems that she would not have returned to the noise of people.

It was like that for two weeks. It was some kind of loneliness binge. Then tov. Inessa gradually began to come to her senses. Together with the purely physical correction, she began to move away spiritually. It was very noticeable that things were on the mend. And she herself said that she felt improvement, she was also gaining weight.

All this time in Kislovodsk, the political conditions were rather unpleasant for rest. In addition to all sorts of White Guard actions relatively far from Kislovodsk, there were frequent threats directly to Kislovodsk. In this regard, there were frequent night alarms.

Nervous, twitchy people who could not control themselves, as well as cowards and self-seekers, both non-Party and Party, could not get medical treatment and rest; they or just yes

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rum passed the time, or ran away. Comrade Inessa was not one of those. All these warning worries did little to hurt her. She either did not react to them at all, or reacted very little, without spoiling her mood. In this case, Comrade Inessa was only herself, she was that communist who was hardened in battles, with endurance, with willpower and, most importantly, not a coward and not a selfish person. At a time when real battles broke out around Kislovodsk, when the sound of artillery was heard all day long, when Kislovodsk could be cut off by the White Guards, at that time a panic began: many fled for nothing. And this time Comrade Inessa was one of the few.

Neither panic nor a simple loss of balance seized her. She did everything to send forward the weak-willed (obviously, they mean those patients who were the weakest, and not those whose disease was the most weakly manifested).

stricken. - B.S.), family, etc. Moreover, when the commander, Comrade Davydov, and a member of the regional committee, Comrade Nazarov, arrived in Kislovodsk, when they announced that, first of all, Comrade Inessa and some other comrades would be taken away and transported to another place, then she immediately announced that she would not go until the others were sent. Comrades Davydov and Nazarov appeared in Kislovodsk just at the time of the crisis in the fight against the White Guards. The dispatch of patients from Kislovodsk began even before their arrival...

T. Nazarov arrived in Kislovodsk to carry out an order from the center and from the region. He said: if comrade Inessa does not go voluntarily, then he will resort to the help of comrades of the Red Army soldiers in order to fulfill the order for her movement.

After a day from the arrival of Comrade. Nazarov's position became clear. The White Guards were beaten, they were driven, they fled to the mountains. Despite the favorable outcome of the battle at the moment, it was decided to liquidate Kislovodsk as a resort for this season. The evacuation of the sick gradually had to continue. In vie

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du such a turn of affairs comrade. Inessa had to decide whether she should go from Kislovodsk to Moscow or somewhere else to continue her vacation. If Comrade Inessa felt healthy and rested, then she would go to Moscow without hesitation. Most of all, she did not want to leave Kislovodsk anywhere to continue treatment. Here are her words: "Now there is no danger. Andryusha and I are recovering so well here, we still have about a month to rest, and therefore there is no point in changing the place, wasting time, effort, etc. on this. That was her decision. But Comrade Nazarov could not agree to this. Taking into account the order from the Center, as well as the personal desire, comrade. Nazarov was ready to do everything in order to better arrange comrade. Inessa and others. He knew Com. Inessa is very well and from the best side, and therefore he no longer treated him as an official, but as the best friend to the best friend.

So Comrade Inessa, although against her will, nevertheless left Kislovodsk. It had already been decided in advance that those who had been taken away from Kislovodsk would be sent to Nalchik... Davydov, on the way we had to engage in a small skirmish with bandits somewhere in front of Vladikavkaz. But now we have arrived in Vladi Kavkaz. In order to better arrange everything and go to Nalchik not to an empty place, we had to stay in Vladikavkaz for about two days. I don't know how to explain it, but I must say that, starting from Kislovodsk, we definitely had no luck. Making their way with adventures to Vladikavkaz, they stood there for two days; and having gone to Nalchik, we again got stuck at one of the most polluting stations, at the Beslan station, and also stood for about two days. On the road, I had to eat whatever I could. But then we got to Nalchi-

ka. Arriving around noon, the first thing Comrade Inessa went to inspect was a room where she could stay. On this day, the matter ended with the fact that I had to spend the night in the car. T. Inessa on the same first day went to a meeting of the Nalchik executive committee in order to learn

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to mingle at least a little with comrades and with the affairs of the region (maybe to implement plans to stay to work in the Caucasus? - B.S.). When Comrade Inessa returned, she did not complain about anything, and the next morning she was already suffering from convulsions of cholera. T. Ruzheinikov, who came with us as a doctor, examined Comrade Inessa and, without saying much, took measures to send her to the hospital as soon as possible ... Despite all the urgent and sufficient measures taken on the medical side, t It was not possible to save Inessa. Fears for her life from the moment of her illness were extremely great, since her heart and general health were in very poor condition. Our fears were justified. T. Inessa could not overcome the evil bacillus of Asiatic cholera. Quietly, without noise, in the terrible agony of death comrade. Inessa froze forever.

Within 8 days the body of Comrade. Inessa stood in the dead room and emitted almost no stench. Like it wasn't a corpse. Comrade was so exhausted. Inessa.

Her body was sent to Moscow. We, who had come to Nalchik with her, as well as the comrades and citizens of Nalchik, came to see our dear comrade off and say a final goodbye to her. The coffin in his arms was carried almost to the very station. At the station, I, comrade. Ruzheinikov, Rogov, Sobolev and others made speeches, noting how comrade. Inessa has been all her life. This is how we lost one of the best fighters for communism."

Kotov is trying to draw a portrait of such an unbending wrestler. The changes for the worse, which became noticeable in Inessa, the memoirist explains exclusively by overwork. And she claims that by the end of her stay in Kislovodsk she had almost recovered, put on weight and, along with it. with physical recovery, gradually began to gain peace of mind. But we know what storms were raging at that moment in Inessa's soul, how hard and lonely she really was ... And from the last letter to her daughter it is clear that Inessa herself was not too pleased with the rest. She was ready to continue treatment in the Caucasus for the sake of

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son. Tom definitely liked it in the Caucasus. Inessa was thinking about staying here for a while, gathering her thoughts away from her Moscow acquaintances, from Ilyich, thinking about how to live on, not knowing that there would be no "further" for her.

Kotov refutes his own assertion that Inessa managed to gain weight in Kislovodsk. After all, he convinces readers that the corpse of Inessa practically did not decompose in eight days - she was so thin. True, this whole story is strikingly reminiscent of the lives of the saints - up to the acquisition of incorruptible relics. Inessa, in fact, looked very little like a saint. She was too down to earth.

Lenin constantly remembered Inessa. On September 2, he telegraphed Ordzhonikidze about Armand and his son: "Please ... more details about the course of the fight against banditism and about the establishment by you in Kislovodsk of those Soviet workers about whom I spoke to you personally here." Knowing Lenin's special attention to Inessa, Sergo insisted on an almost forcible evacuation of her and her son from Kislovodsk, although the immediate danger of the capture of the city by the Whites had already passed. And this evacuation turned out to be fatal for Inessa.

P.S. Vinogradskaya described her meeting with Armand on the eve of her departure from Kislovodsk: "... Last evening I happened to hear Inessa play the piano. We asked her for a very long time. She stubbornly disagreed. Finally, she sat down at the piano and began to play Chopin, Liszt and other classics for us. Wonderful sounds poured out, and we all sat spellbound ... Inessa, at first somewhat embarrassed, later became interested in the game herself and played for us until late at night. I only then saw what a musical person she was and what a huge technique she possessed. None of us, even those who knew her closely during these years, knew that she plays so beautifully. Neither she nor others over the years had no time for music ... "The last time I sat down at the piano, Inessa

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she recalled how she once played Ilyich, and these bright memories made her soul feel better.

Her acquaintance from the prerevolutionary struggle, Lyudmila Stal, who then worked in the Caucasian Bureau of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) wrote about Armand's stay in Kislovodsk: ". Inessa. But only after the intensified requests of her friends did she decide to leave Moscow. She leaves for the North Caucasus. But mainly not for his own sake, but for the treatment of his sick son Andryusha. There I saw her for the last time. Inessa arrived so tired and broken, so emaciated ... She was tired of people, tired of conversations. She tried to be alone, and for whole evenings she remained in her dark room, since there was not even a lamp there. Gradually, good food in the sanatorium, mountain air and the life-giving sun of the south do their job, and before my departure I see Comrade. Inessa against the blue sky, in the mountains, resurrected again to life and struggle.

And at this moment, a terrible death takes her from our midst. She died of an accidental illness. But this accidental illness struck her because the conditions of the civil war do not give tired fighters the opportunity for a peaceful rest. The counter-revolution, which at that time had built a hearth for itself in White Guard Georgia (in reality, this country, where the Mensheviks were in power, was rather hostile to the Russian White movement. - B.S.), stretched its fingers all over the Caucasus, arranging it here, then there are uprisings. Volleys of guns reached the peaceful Kislovodsk, where Inessa lived at that time. Even sick people from sanatoriums were called up for night duty. Everyone was mobilized. They feared the possibility of a raid by the White Guards to capture and massacre senior officials.

Then tov. Inessa and other comrades were asked to leave Kislovodsk immediately. Inessa stubbornly refused, declaring: "If there is a danger, then let

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all the women and children will be taken away first, and I will be the last to leave." But a member of the Tersk Regional Committee of the Russian Communist Party replied that in case of refusal to travel voluntarily with comrades in a specially designated carriage, military force would be used. And against his will Comrade. Inessa left Kislovodsk.

In order to get to Nalchik, she had to pass through Vladikavkaz and that part of the Vladikavkaz railway, where there was the largest concentration of refugees from Trusia. These were revolutionary peasants fleeing within Soviet Russia from the charms of the Menshevik "democratic" terror (in fact, here we are talking about participants in an unsuccessful uprising organized by Georgian communists with Soviet support. - B.S.). Cholera raged among them. And tov. Inessa did not have to finish her treatment in picturesque Nalchik. She fell ill in the carriage, early at dawn. But due to her natural delicacy, she did not dare to wake up her comrades in order to receive timely help. A few days later Inessa was gone. The weakened heart could not stand the fight. Inessa realized that she was dying. Her last words were: "Comrade. Ruzhenikov, I feel like I'm dying. Leave me: you have a family, you can get infected. Thus Comrade Inessa passed away with thought and concern for others..."

I suspect that it was Lyudmila Nikolaevna who agitated Inessa Fyodorovna to stay in the Caucasus to work as a slave. Her memoirs are pure myth. Everything is as if by magic: excellent weather, excellent mountain air, the invigorating southern sun, curing Armand of the malaise caused by overwork. Before us again is a female fighter, ready for new battles for the triumph of communism. In fact, as we know, Inessa, until her very last days, was tormented by insoluble contradictions between love and revolution, personal and social life. And the weather in Kislovod-

ske was rainy, and the local sun Inessa for some reason

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didn't like it. She preferred the Crimean - but Wrangel was still in the Crimea.

Stal's testimony is quite remarkable that Ordzhonikidze's people threatened to use "military force" to evacuate Armand. It was probably only a threat, perhaps more poetic than practical. It would be hard to imagine a picture: the head of the affairs of the Central Committee, who enjoys the patronage of Lenin himself, is pushed into the car by the Red Army with rifle butts. But the threat is typical for Sergo. The ardent Caucasian man was ready to carry out Lenin's order to take care of the safety of the two women by any, including very indelicate, means.

A much more humane and thus closer to reality portrait of Inessa is drawn by Vinogradskaya: "As a person, she adhered to the motto that nothing human is alien to even the most extreme revolutionary. Along with major revolutionary work, Inessa was able to accommodate a large and vibrant personal life (maybe the memoirist knew about the relationship between Armand and Lenin? - B.S.). But she built it in such a way that the personal was always subordinate to the public, the temporal and accidental to the essential, essential. Only persons who knew little of Ines su could consider her an ascetic or a very dry person...

Inessa adored her children so much that she sometimes lost her sense of impartiality towards them. With a smile, I still remember how during my disputes with her youngest son, Andrey, which arose while playing croquet (in the Caucasus during a vacation) "due to a malicious violation of croquet rules," Inessa always took the side of her son, even if all the surrounding witnesses certify him wrong.

Vinogradskaya also spoke about the last days of Inessa (they broke up two days before her illness): "She arrived in the Caucasus so tired, exhausted and nervous that. it was hard for her to see people. She avoided meetings, her time

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irritated speech, laughter; she tried more and more to go far into the mountains. As now, I remember her tall, slender figure in a black cape, white hat, with a book in her hands, slowly climbing into the mountains, higher and higher.

Unfortunately, the situation in the Caucasus was far from being such that one could retire and relax there. I'm not talking about the fact that sanatoriums were then still completely

not arranged. Inessa, for example, having a ticket in her hands, could not get a room in a sanatorium, as there were no places. When her comrades found a room on the side, it turned out that there was nothing to sleep on. The local authorities, which the Lenin family, concerned about Inessa's condition, asked to take care of her, asked Inessa what she needed. But Inessa, always modest and undemanding, did not dare to ask for more than ... a pillow.

There were bands of whites in the mountains around Kislovodsk. Often at night the district committee set off an alarm and siren informed sick communists of the need to appear at the district committee. There they were supplied with rifles, divided into detachments and sent to kick the enemy out. Naturally, such an atmosphere was not conducive to treatment and rest.

After reading these memoirs, I was left with the feeling that Vinogradskaya knew much more about Inessa's connection with Ilyich than she could say. And this secret knowledge of hers was forced to cover up with fiction. We have already made sure that it was not the "Lenin family", but only Vladimir Ilyich himself, who was busy about getting Inessa on vacation, telegraphed Ordzhonikidze, gave her a mandate with his own signature. This mandate alone would have been enough to make the local authorities bleed, but Inessa would have arranged for the best room in any sanatorium. But in the collection of memoirs about Armand, published under the editorship of Krupskaya, it was not very convenient to write that Lenin personally took care of Inessa. This could give rise to unnecessary rumors and suspicions. Therefore, Vinogradskaya preferred a more vague reference to the "Lenin family", from which it could be understood that

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Inessa was arranged by Nadezhda Konstantinovna. And she came up with a completely fantastic story about a pillow that Inessa asked to be sent to her (from Moscow, or what?). The myth of an exceptionally modest and selfless Bolshevik woman was created, which fit very well into the image of the newfound martyr of the communist idea.

Dr. I.S. Ruzheinikov, who unsuccessfully tried to save Inessa from cholera, also left memories: "... The last days of her life and illness (Comrade Inessa died in my arms) I was with her all the time. And I still have fresh memories of those sad days, why I willingly fulfill the order of the Zhenotdel of the Central Committee of the RCP(b) and want to say a few very short, truthful words about this rare charming comrade, who died so absurdly, absurdly, untimely.. Tov. Inessa came to Kislovodsk with her son Andryusha... Comrade. Inessa at that time was physically exhausted and extremely nervously upset. The general situation of that time in Kislovodsk for recreation was extremely unfavorable. In addition, the landing of the white partisan, Colonel Nazarov, created a very difficult situation in this area. Everything was mobilized

but in case it is necessary to repel a bandit attack by Nazarov's detachments. Communists and reliable non-Party people, who had come for rest and treatment, were put under arms and kept guard at night. Soon, by order from the center, a group of responsible workers was sent to Vladikavkaz for treatment and rest. Tov. Inessa was very reluctant to leave Kislovodsk and only yielding to the insistence of her comrades who had come for us agreed to go to Vladikavkaz. Our car was hitched to a military train bound for Vladikavkaz.

On the way, rifle, machine-gun and even cannon fire was once opened on bandit detachments seen in the distance. Tov. Inessa showed rare calmness, and if she was worried, it was only for others - for Andryuscha ... and for

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belt comrades-women - comrade. Ruzheinikov and Rogov. In Vladikavkaz, we were unable to find a place to live due to the lack of suitable conditions for rest and treatment. We lived in a carriage at the station. Both in the city and at the station, everything, including Comrade. Inessa, bought and ate quite a lot of all sorts of fruits. The station was then extremely dirty, but no cases of cholera were observed at that time. There were 3-4 suspicious cases in June-July.

On another trip, upon arrival in Vladikavkaz, comrade Ordzhoni kidze and others offered us a car to take a ride to see the surroundings and the Georgian Military Highway. For all the comrades there were not enough places in the car, and comrade. Inez, seeing this, looked for various excuses not to go, wanting to give this pleasure to other comrades, and only under pressure from other comrades did she agree - she went. All our dorota comrade. Inessa, with her rare delicacy, gentleness and sensitivity, took care of the conveniences of others, forgetting about herself.

Two days later it turned out that it was better for us to go to Nalchik for a holiday. We were handed over to the care of Comrade Kalmykov, then the chairman of the executive committee of the Kabardian region. On the way to Nalchik, we got stuck at the Beslan station for 1/2 day. Beslan station at that time was terribly polluted, with full latrines, there was no buffet. We lived through those 1/3 days in disgusting conditions, ate whatever we could, ate decently raw fruits, watermelons, melons, etc. It was here that Comrade, probably, contracted cholera. Inessa.

Tov. Inessa was very worried that it was difficult to get milk and eggs for Comrade, who had weakened along the way. Kotov (he had tuberculosis in the 2nd stage). She walked along the platform for a long time, looked for travelers at the station, went to the village and, if she managed to get something, she came shining and immediately began to cook something to feed, as she put it, comrade. Kotov. Detsky was pleased, although she hid it when the improvisation

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roved "dish" succeeded. All this she did
but imperceptibly.

Upon arrival in Nalchik Comrade. Inessa felt fine the first day. We walked around the city and went to see the dacha, where we intended to settle for recreation, and in the evening we were at a party meeting of the local organization. In the evening, at 9-10 o'clock, they would return to their carriage to the station on foot, sharing their impressions of organizing party work in the city of Nalchik and talking about the state of affairs on the Wrangel front (what are the Bolsheviks! opinions are expressed as to whether the work of the Party is well organized in the resort areas.—B.S.). Here is Comrade. Inessa touched upon the question of Vladimir Ilyich's pamphlet, The Childhood Disease of "Leftism" in Communism, which had then appeared, and spoke at length and enthusiastically.

That very night she fell ill. Due to her delicacy, she did not tell anyone about this, not wanting to disturb her sleeping comrades. In the morning at Comrade Inessa developed convulsions, diarrhea and vomiting. During convulsions, comrades Ruzheynikova and Rogova began to rub her legs, but comrade. Inessa protested and said: "What are you, what are you, how can you. After all, you are both pregnant - this tension can damage your pregnancy. All persuasion was useless. Comrade Inessa, even at that time, thought and cared more about others than about herself.

Comrades Ruzheynikova and Rogova remained to look after her, and I went to the local hospital to find out whether it was possible to place Comrade. Inessa. At about 10-11 am I took her to the local hospital. Tov. Inessa was greatly weakened, she could hardly stand on her feet. An examination in the hospital established all the symptoms of cholera. Tov. Inessa was placed in a separate ward, a special caretaker was appointed, a doctor was specially assigned, and a special treatment for cholera was prescribed. Andryusha and I stayed with her in the ward.

The disease progressed rapidly. By evening, the state of Comrade. Inessa deteriorated greatly. Started having convulsions. Doctor,

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the nurse, Andryusha and I alternately rubbed and warmed Comrade's hands and feet. Inessa. By nightfall, seizing the moment when Andryusha came out, Comrade. Inessa began to ask me to send, persuaded Andryusha to leave for the car, since Ines was afraid that Andryusha might be infected, which I did. At night, the pulse was barely palpable. They were afraid of the collapse of the heart. It was decided to resort to intravenous infusion of physiological saline solution. In 20-30 minutes the state of Comrade. Inessa improved dramatically: her face turned pink, vomiting and convulsions stopped, her voice

cleared, comrade. Inessa calmed down, her mood rose, and concern for others returned again. "I have given you all anxiety. So many troubles instead of rest. And we Party members do not know how to fall ill at the right time and in the right place. Well, nothing, I'll get better a little - I'll rest - I'll return to Moscow. How tired are you all probably messing with me? How I don't want to be ill in this hot time, because there is so much work ahead!" She began to persuade me to leave to rest, then fell asleep. In the morning, when Andryusha came, comrade. Inessa was talking to him through the window, not wanting him to enter the ward. She asked me to eat... At noon, she again felt worse, again all the symptoms sharply intensified. It was decided to repeat the infusion of saline. Tov. Inessa calmed down again. She asked him to call Andryusha, talked to him a little, asked him not to worry, then insisted that he go to sleep calmly, as she felt better again. And she began to insist that I leave, rest, sleep. To calm her down, I went into the next room. Tov. Inessa asked not to send disturbing telegrams to Moscow.

By evening, Inessa's condition worsened sharply again. This time, too, all measures were taken to raise the activity of the heart, but to no avail. At midnight Com. Inessa fell into an unconscious state. Without leaving the sick bed, we spent the whole night trying with all of

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using the medical means known to us to help comrade. Inessa to overcome the disease. But everything was to no avail.

A severely emaciated organism, a tired, weak heart, despite all the measures taken, could not cope with the disease. The next morning our dear comrade was gone. Inessa. A few days later a galvanized coffin was delivered from Vladikavkaz. Together with local organizations, we organized comrade. Inessa was given a revolutionary send-off at the station and the expensive remains were sent to Moscow."

All memoirists paint a very similar image of a modest charming woman who is at the same time an unshakable fighter of the party. And everyone confirms that Inessa left Kislovodsk and went on a fateful journey to Vladikavkaz and Nalchik not of her own free will, but obeying strict party discipline. She became a victim of administrative zeal carried to the point of absurdity. Verily, make the fool of cancer pray to God, he will hurt his forehead. Local leaders, having received orders from Lenin and Ordzhonikidze, went out of their way to ensure comfort and safety for Armand and his son. And they decided to evacuate them from the risk of being on the front line of Kislovodsk. But while the decision reached its execution, White was driven off and the immediate danger passed. But no one changed the decision. Moreover, the same Nazarov (a member of the Terek Regional Committee; not to be confused with his namesake - a white partisan! - B.S.) did not have the intelligence to figure out that iron-

a road trip through the North Caucasus, engulfed by the Civil War, is no less, if not more dangerous, than staying in a sanatorium next to the White Guards and "greens" who have taken refuge in the mountains. Because of the devastation, the riding was "revolutionary": we ride for a day - we stop for two. And the most terrible danger was not even an attack on the train by criminal gangs or anti-Soviet detachments. No, most of all it was necessary to be afraid of epidemics - typhus, Spanish flu, cholera. To contract any of these diseases, given the unhygienic conditions and the high density of people in the

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rides and at the stations was a simple matter, which was confirmed by the case with Armand.

Lenin was truly shocked when he received a terrible telegram: "Out of line. Moscow. Central Committee of the RCP, Council of People's Commissars, Lenin. Comrade Inessa Armand, who fell ill with cholera, could not be saved. After all, not long before this, it was reported that the patient's condition improved and there was hope for recovery. A few days ago, Sergo telegraphed: "Inessa is all right." And suddenly such a terrible message! Ilyich blamed himself first of all for the death of his beloved. He himself insisted on sending Inessa to the North Caucasus, he himself insisted on being evacuated to the ill-fated Nalchik. And, probably, only on this tragic day of September 24, 1920, did Lenin fully understand who Inessa was for him.

We have already familiarized ourselves with the description of Lenin at the funeral of Armand, given by Alexandra Kollontai. And here is what the secretary of the Comintern, the Italian socialist Angelica Balabanova (later she became a close friend of Benito Mussolini) remembered: "I looked askance at Lenin. He looked desperate, his cap pulled down over his eyes. Small in stature, he seemed to wrinkle and become even smaller. He looked pathetic and despondent. I have never seen him like this before. It was more than the loss of a "good Bolshevik" or a good friend. There was an impression that he had lost something very dear and very close to him and made no attempt to disguise it... His eyes seemed to disappear into painfully suppressed tears. Whenever the movement of the crowd pressed against our group, he offered no resistance to the pushes, as if he was grateful that he could come close to the coffin.

And another witness, the writer Elizaveta Drabkina, former secretary of the chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, Yakov Sverdlov, the second man of the Bolsheviks after Lenin. In the book "Winter Pass" she described how

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Armand's coffin was brought to Moscow: "In the evening of October 10, the patrol group, which included me, went on duty. The night was autumnal damp and dark. We were very chilled and looked forward to the morning. It was almost dawn when, having reached the Post Office, we saw a funeral procession moving toward us. Thin black horses, harnessed by a train, with difficulty dragged a black hearse, on which stood a very large and therefore especially long lead box, shining with a dull sheen.

Standing at the roadside, we let these bony horses barely moving their legs, this hearse covered with peeling black paint, and saw Vladimir Ilyich walking behind him, and next to him was Nadezhda Konstantinovna, who supported him by the arm. There was something inexpressibly mournful in his slumped shoulders and bowed head. We realized that in this terrible lead box there was a coffin with the body of Inessa.

She was buried the next day in Red Square. Among the wreaths laid on this grave was a wreath of live white hyacinths with an inscription on the mourning ribbon: "Comrade. Inessa Armand from V.I. Lenin.

The Englishwoman Claire Sheridan, a sculptor, sculpted a bust of Lenin just in those October days. Here is what she remembered: "During all this time (the session, which lasted from eleven in the morning until four in the evening. - B.S.), Lenin did not eat, did not drink, and did not smoke a single cigarette ... My attempts to start with Lenin's conversation did not meet with approval, and, realizing that with my presence I was already bothering him, I did not dare to insist. Sitting on the windowsill and relaxing, I kept telling myself that this was really happening, that I really was in Lenin's cabin and was fulfilling my mission... I kept repeating to myself: "Lenin! Lenin! - as if she could not believe that everything around me was not a dream.

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Here he is sitting here in front of me, a calm, silent, small man with a huge forehead. Lenin, the genius of the greatest revolution in the history of mankind, if he would only want to talk to me. But... he hated the bourgeoisie, and I was its representative. He hated Winston Churchill, and I was his niece ... He allowed me to work in his office, and I had to do what I came for, and not take away that time from him; he had nothing to talk about with me. When I mustered up my courage and asked what news was coming from England, he handed me several issues of the Daily Herald.

Lenin, probably, really acted on women (however, on men too) somehow magnetically. Churchill's niece looks at the leader of the Bolshevik revolution almost as if he were a living god, a genius of all times and peoples.

A couple of times, Ilyich nevertheless condescended to a conversation with Claire: "He looked at his sculptural portrait ... and smiled condescendingly at me. This is how one smiles at a child building a house of cards. Then Lenin asked: "How about

Is your husband going to Russia for your trip?.." "My husband was killed in the war," I replied. "Which war?" - "In France". "Oh yes, of course..." He nodded in understanding. —

I keep forgetting that you only had one war. After all, in addition to the imperialist one, we also had a civil war, and we also fought to defend the country from the interventionists."

Lenin spoke of the fruitless spirit of self-sacrifice that the British were possessed when they entered the war of 1914, and advised them to read Barbusse's *Fire or Clarity*.

Vladimir Ilyich did not even try to hide from Claire that, in essence, he was indifferent to the death of her husband. No words of sympathy. Only a remark about the futility of self-sacrifice in the "imperialist war", which can be considered insulting in relation to the memory of the deceased. But the enthusiastic fan does not notice any of this.

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At the next meeting, Lenin got acquainted with the photographs of Claire's works and acted as their harsh critic: "Although he said that he understood nothing about art, he very clearly characterized "bourgeois art", which, as he said, always striving for beauty. He has a negative attitude towards beauty as an abstract ideal. He declared that he considered unjustified the beauty with which I endowed my "Victory": "Militarism and war are ugly and can only cause hatred, and even self-sacrifice and heroism cannot give them beauty. The vice of bourgeois art is that it embellishes everything." Then Lenin looked at the photograph of the sculpture "Dick's Head" (Claire's son. - B.S.), and an expression of tenderness flashed across his face. I asked: "Is this embellished too?" He shook his head and smiled."

Ilyich, fortunately for him, did not live to see the flowering of the art of socialist realism. Then, probably, I would not have ventured to accuse "bourgeois art" of embellishing reality. So "abstract beauty" is denied, as is abstract humanism. A monument to the victors in an "imperialist", unjust war, in his opinion, cannot, must not be beautiful. As in his conversations with Elizaveta K., Lenin clearly connected aesthetics with politics. Only the baby's head made him smile tenderly. Ilyich loved children, although he made many of them orphans. And he was very sorry that he had no children of his own. Or maybe I remembered in this mi-

nutu about Inessa, her children, I thought that they could have had children with her ... Perhaps that is why at that moment Lenin looked somehow upset and sick. Claire Sheridan writes: "His face expressed more deep thought than authority. He seemed to me a living embodiment of a thinker... He looked very ill... The bullet fired by the hand of the woman who attempted to kill Lenin was still in his body. Once I saw him with his arm in a sling. He said it was "nothing", although his complexion had a yellowish tinge, like ivory. He is completely

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did not walk and was content only with the small amount of fresh air that penetrated into his office through a small fan in the upper part of the window.

No, it was not Kaplan's bullets that caused Lenin to feel unwell, but the death of a woman he loved. And the arm in a sling—isn't this the first signal of the approach of a fatal illness, the first bell that rang immediately after Armand's death?

It was not a close friend, not a comrade-in-arms that Lenin lost. He lost his beloved. And, probably, Kollontai was right in something: the death of Inessa hastened the death of Ilyich. If Armand had then overcome the Asiatic cholera bacillus, another mysterious disease would not have overtaken Lenin so early. After the death of his beloved, he had little life left.

weak forces.

Beloved Tibel was superimposed on the collapse of the Red Army's campaign against Warsaw, which ended in the complete defeat of Tukhachevsky's troops. But literally in those days when Ilyich sent Inessa to the Caucasus, he hurried the Soviet troops marching on the Polish capital, he hoped to quickly put an end to Pilsudski. So, on August 12, he telegraphed for Trotsky's deputy head of the military department, Sklyansky: "Shouldn't Smilga (a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Western Front commanded by Tukhachevsky. - B. S.) be instructed that it is necessary to take into the army without exception (after collecting bread) all grown men? Necessary. Since Budyonny is to the south, it is necessary to strengthen the north. Lenin vaguely felt the danger that the Western and Southwestern Fronts were advancing in divergent directions, and he was ready to fill the Poles with the corpses of the peasants taken directly from the plow. If only Tukhachevsky still took Warsaw and opened the road to Berlin! Vladimir Ilyich said with pride back in January 1920, speaking to the communist faction of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions: "... We defeated Denikin and Kolchak by the fact that discipline was higher than all the capitalist countries of the world ... We killed tens of thousands of the best communists for ten thousand White Guard officers, and this saved the country. Under dis

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Lenin understood the readiness of Communists and non-Party people meekly to die for the triumph of the revolution. If he sacrificed tens of thousands of the best communists without any hesitation, then putting tens of thousands of "unconscious" peasants on the altar of victory is a holy deed.

And only a month later, Ilyich, perhaps, realized that it was discipline that ruined Inessa. Armand was used to obeying Lenin in everything. At first I obeyed his recommendations and went to Kislovodsk. Then she really didn't want to leave Kislovodsk for Nalchik. But she submitted to party discipline. And here is the result. A dear, close person died here, not abstract Ivans and Pstras ...

Here is what the dry official report says about the funeral of Inessa Armand: "On the night of October 11, a coffin with the body of the deceased comrade arrived in Moscow from the South. Inessa. To meet the coffin at the Kazan station, delegations from the Central and Moscow departments of working women and district committees of Moscow gathered, there were also relatives and friends of the deceased, among them comrade. Lenin and N.K. Krupskaya. From the station, the funeral procession went to the House of the Unions and there, in the Small Hall, decorated with flowers and mourning cloth, a coffin was placed, which was buried in flowers and numerous wreaths with inscriptions, among which the inscriptions stood out: "To the old fighter for the proletarian revolution and an unforgettable friend of the Central Committee of the RCP" ("the old wrestler" was only 46 years old! - B.S.); "To a steadfast fighter for the liberation of the worker, comrade Inessa Armand from the MK RKP; "To the Faithful Friend of Women Workers and Fighter for Their Emancipation" from the Department of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party for Work Among Women; wreaths from the districts of Moscow, etc.

All day and all night on October 11, an honorary guard was at the coffin from representatives of the Central and Moscow departments of workers and from the districts. At 12 noon on October 12, representatives of all districts of the city of Moscow, the Moscow Soviet, the Central Committee of the RCP, etc. gradually arrive at the House of Unions (namely, representatives - not people who

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those who knew Inessa and came to pay her last debt, and those who were sent according to the party order, to create the required mass character of the event! - B.S.). The orchestra of red cadets plays mournful melodies, and the guard of honor of cadets carries out the coffin, which is placed on the hearse, and the funeral procession slowly heads along Theater Square and Revolution Square, along the Kremlin wall, to Red Square. At the fresh grave of comrade. Inessa, representatives of the workers and workers of Moscow gathered to give their last greetings to the deceased.

Then there were the usual speeches in such cases, where Inessa's merits were extolled and grief was expressed over the absurd, untimely death. They claimed that they know and remember not only in Russia, but also in Turkestan, and in India

(where Inessa has never been). And here is the finale: "The orchestra plays a funeral march, a group of workers and workers at the coffin quietly sings: "You fell a victim. The last "Internationale" sounds, but the comrades do not disperse for a long time, and one does not want to believe that Comrade, dear to all of us, has left our ranks forever. Inessa. Peace be upon your ashes, dear comrade! The memory of you will live in our hearts, your image of a staunch fighter will serve as a testament to us in all our long and stubborn struggle, we will bring the work you started to the end. All. It's over. The last point has been put in the life of Inessa Armand. And in the afterlife, she, as a true atheist, did not believe.

An unknown poet, hiding under the pseudonym "Bard", in those days published in Pravda the poem "In Memory of Comrade Inessa":

You met death at the post of combat. Sleep in peace,
our dear comrade, Amy - we will only close
our ranks around the unforgettable grave.

Let the red banner cover your ashes, Fearless fighter.
consolations

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We will seek not in fruitless tears, But in a new call - "to
vengeance." Our time will come - we will change
the gun For a hammer, but in the heart of the people

Forever your name will remain

The emblem of the struggle for freedom.

Who gave her soul to the calls of dreams

About the fraternal fusion of peoples,

By the will of fate you did not see

The radiance of the coming sun.

In the midst of the struggle, there is still no triumph,
We have not broken the enemy's strength,

Through the twilight of the fog, only your pale dawn illuminates
the grave.

But your memory will harden our hearts,

In battle, you didn't fall in vain!

We see, we feel the nearness of the end of the last
strongholds of capital.

May the enemies perish, may the veil of the
future happiness fall soon!

Friendly, comrades, in step - forward! Sleep in
peace, Comrade Inessa...

These verses are remarkable not for their poetic merit (poetry in them, to tell the truth, did not spend the night). Here, first of all, attention is drawn to the complete inconsistency with the real circumstances of Armand's death. Inessa did not die at a military post, she died on vacation, at a resort. It was not an enemy bullet that killed Lenin's mistress, but a bacillus of Asiatic cholera, which Inessa, apparently, picked up from one of the Georgian communist rebels who had fled to Vladikavkaz. Didn't the unknown Bard call for revenge on them? However, taking revenge on the abstract "exploiters", "class enemies", "counter-revolutionaries" and "White Guards" in Soviet Russia, at the suggestion of the same Lenin, was no stranger. I don't know maybe

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Perhaps Ilyich considered the extrajudicial execution of thousands of soldiers and officers of the Wrangel army in the Crimea, who naively believed the amnesty promised by the commander of the Southern Front, Mikhail Frunze, as revenge for Inessa? Or the execution in Petrograd of participants in the imaginary "Tagantsev conspiracy" (among them, the famous poet Nikolai Gumilyov)? Or the death of thousands and thousands of victims of the "Red Terror"? But not only Inessa's contemporaries, but also their distant descendants never saw the "end of the last strongholds of capital".

In order to perpetuate the memory of Inessa Armand, the Central Council of Workers under the Central Committee of the RCP(b) and the Department of Workers under the Moscow Committee of the Party decided to publish a collection of memoirs about her and her own articles, to name courses for the training of instructors of women's departments and several nurseries after Inessa Armand. under the editorship of Krupskaya came out in 1926. Inessa herself had to wait until 1975 for a collection of works by Inessa herself.

After Lenin's death, a mini-cult of the main woman of the Soviet country, the leader's widow, gradually took shape. Even during her lifetime, libraries and schools, kindergartens and maternity hospitals were named in her honor. The latter, in fact, was a formal mockery in relation to the childless Nadezhda Konstantinovna. But hardly any of the officials thought about this. Probably, the nursery named after Inessa Fyodorovna Armand eventually turned into a nursery named after Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya. Lenin, however, did not care about such perpetuation of the memory of Inessa. In something

significant life has lost its meaning for him. But Lenin managed to take care of the grave and children of Inessa. On April 24, 1921, he wrote a note to the head of the Moscow City Council, Kamenev: "The children of Inessa Armand turn to me with a request, which I zealously support:

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1) Can you arrange to plant flowers on the grave of Inessa Armand?

2) The same - about a small tile or stone?

If you can, please write to me, please, through whom (through which institutions or establishments) did you do this, so that the children could additionally apply there, check, give inscriptions, etc.

If you can't, drop it too, please: maybe you can order privately? or maybe I should write somewhere, and do you know where?

Reading this note is a little funny. The head of a great power, the ruler of one-sixth of the land, condescends to such trifles as flowers and a tombstone, and even consults in connection with this with the mayor of the capital. Just like that, Lenin could not order a monument and a flower garden, even if he really wanted to. It was necessary to find an institution dealing with this, and draw up the appropriate paper.

Ilyich did not forget Inessa's children either. For example, on July 11, 1921, he gave a letter of recommendation to the Soviet ambassador in Persia, F.A. Rotshtein: "I recommend to you the bearer Alexander Alexandrovich Armand and his sister Varvara Alexandrovna. I know these young people and I care deeply about them. I would be extremely obliged to you if you paid attention to them and helped them in every possible way. Lenin's shadow protected the Armand family. None of the children of Inesa, as well as her husband Alexander Evgenievich, despite the factory owner's past, was ever repressed. All of them received decent positions and did not live in poverty. In a country that has gone through several waves of bloody purges, this was no small achievement. So Ilyich managed to thank the woman he loved, albeit posthumously.

LENIN AND KRUPSKAYA:
SURVIVAL

When Lenin fell ill, taking care of her helpless husband became the meaning of life for Nadezhda Konstantinovna. In the last months of Ilyich's life, in one of her letters she confessed: "I live only because in the morning V. is glad to see me, takes my hand, and sometimes we talk without words about various things that still have no name". This close Krupskaya person was the daughter of Ines-

sy Fedorovna Armand, also Inessa.

The first signs of the disease appeared in the summer of 1921. Ilyich began to get very tired, insomnia developed, headaches and dizziness began to torment him. In July, Lenin wistfully wrote to Gorky: "I'm so tired that I can't do anything." Medicines did not help him. At first, the doctors thought it was just overwork. The many hours of daily meetings for which it was necessary to prepare, the writing of hundreds and thousands of notes and telegrams really took a lot of effort. At that time there was not yet a large army of referents and speech writers who make life easier for professional politicians. Yes, and then they met on every occasion and without any reason: the central government tried to control almost everything that happened in a vast country. For example, on February 23, 1921, Lenin participated in as many as 40 meetings - a record worthy of entering into the Guinness book! They thought that the colossal load led to nervous exhaustion. It is only necessary to reduce the number

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Lots of meetings, less sitting and writing, more walking, especially in the open air, and a good rest in nature for a month or two, and everything will return to normal. Professors O. Foerster and G. Klemperer, discharged from Germany, stated: "There are no signs of an organic disease of the central nervous system."

However, resting with Krupskaya in Gorki near Moscow did little to help Lenin. At the end of 1921, the pains and dizziness resumed. Nadezhda Konstantinovna noticed with alarm that her husband could not sleep all night. On New Year's Eve 1922, the Politburo forcibly sent Lenin on leave for six weeks, forbidding him to come from Gorki to Moscow. A situation has developed in the country when the leader was losing the ability to work and, accordingly, to influence the political course at a catastrophic pace. This happened in Russia again at the end of the twentieth century, in the second half of the 90s, when President Yeltsin, tormented by various ailments (or one, but carefully concealed), in Gorki, Barvikha and other country residences, as well as in the Kremlin hospital began to spend more time than in the Kremlin.

Lenin's illness was a bolt from the blue not only for the population, but also for the top political leadership of the country. Leon Trotsky recalled that the leader's ill health was perceived as a threat to the cause of the revolution: "Lenin was very careful about the health of his employees and often remembered the words of some emigrant: the old will die out, and the young will surrender. "How many of us know what Europe is, what the world working-class movement is? As long as we are alone with our revolution," Lenin repeated, "nothing can replace the international experience of our party elite (i.e., long-term stay in exile. — B.S.)." Lenin himself

was considered a strong man, and his health seemed to be one of the indestructible foundations of the revolution. He was invariably active, vigilant, even, cheerful. Only occasionally did I notice anxiety

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symptoms. During the first congress of the Comintern, he struck me with his tired look, uneven voice, and the smile of a patient. I have told him more than once that he spends too much of himself on secondary matters. He agreed, but he could not do otherwise. Sometimes he complained - always in passing, a little shyly - about headaches. But two or three weeks of rest restored him. It seemed that Lenin would never wear out.

Lenin understood that he was very seriously ill. He anxiously asked the doctors: "After all, this, of course, does not threaten madness?" And once, after another fainting spell, he remarked: "So someday I will have a kondrashka (the popular name for a stroke is cerebral hemorrhage. - B.S.). Many years ago, a peasant (isn't it in Shushenskoye? - B.S.) told me: "And you, Ilyich, will die from kondrashka," and when I asked why he thinks so, he replied: "Yes, you have a neck you already hurt but short. This time, the formidable "kondraty" did not have to wait long.

In April 1922, one of the two bullets left in his body after being shot by Fanny Kaplan was removed from Lenin. It was a gesture of desperation. In this way, they naively hoped to slow down the development of a mysterious disease. But in vain.

As early as May 4, 1922, Lenin managed to pass a decision on the confiscation of church valuables to help the starving in the Politburo. Believers and church hierarchs protested against this decision. They doubted, not without reason, that the proceeds from the sale of church relics would reach the starving, and would not be used for the needs of, for example, the Red Army or the world revolution. And the sale of treasures abroad for next to nothing did not save the situation. But it was important for Lenin and his comrades to suppress the church, deprive it of the opportunity to compete with the Marxist ideology in the minds and hearts of people, and at the same time materially support the power of the Bolsheviks. Ilyich wrote to the members of the Politburo: "We must by all means confiscate church valuables in the most decisive and fastest way that we can.

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to secure for himself a fund of several hundred million gold rubles (one must recall the gigantic riches of some monasteries and laurels). Without this fund, no state work in general, no economic construction in particular, and no defense of one's position in Tenuya in particular, is completely unthinkable. Take over a fund of several hundred million gold rubles (and

maybe several billion) we must by all means. And this can only be done successfully now. All considerations point to the fact that it will not be possible to do it later, because no other moment, except from a hopeful hunger, will give us such a mood of wide

us e1

peasant masses...

Here, it turns out, how simple everything is. It is not at all necessary to rob churches in order to save the starving Volga region. There is a much more important task: to provide the Soviet government with a gold reserve so that it can speak more confidently with the "imperialists" at the Genoa Conference! Try to raise the peasants against the church. The leaders of the Bolsheviks hoped that the hungry would more easily believe the propagandistic assertions that the scoundrel churchmen did not want to share their treasures with the perishing crops. Although the church has repeatedly offered to organize assistance to the starving itself, the authorities did not need this. It was better to seize everything, to the last, by force. Bring fear, and get more. And they started looting. Precious salaries were torn off from the icons, sacred vessels and other church utensils were confiscated. The parishioners who resisted were arrested (almost one and a half thousand clashes between believers and police and Chekists took place).

Whether the blow that befell Lenin was God's punishment or not, we will never know. True, if we accept the version with God, the question arises: why did the "Red Terror" initiated by Ilyich not cause immediate punishment from heaven? Mo

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maybe God's patience came to an end when the leader of the Bolsheviks so thoroughly hooked the church?

And on May 17, Lenin managed to send the People's Commissar of Justice D.I. Kursk addenda to the new Criminal Code, where he proposed to "expand the use of execution by shooting" and demanded "to openly expose a principled and politically truthful (and not just legally narrow) provision motivating the essence and justification of terror." Ilyich especially emphasized: "The court should not eliminate terror; to promise this would be self-deception or deceit, but to substantiate and legitimize it in principle, clearly, without falsehood and without embellishment. It is necessary to formulate as broadly as possible, because only a revolutionary sense of justice and a revolutionary conscience will set the conditions for applying in practice, more or less broad.

And Lenin gives an example of such a formulation, which later became the basis of the infamous Article 58, which punished "counterrevolutionary activity": "Propaganda, or agitation, or participation in an organization, or assistance

organizations acting (propaganda and agitation) in the direction of helping that part of the international bourgeoisie that does not recognize the equality of the communist property system that is replacing capitalism and seeks its violent overthrow, whether by intervention, or blockade, or espionage, or financing press, etc. means,

Punishable by capital punishment, with replacement, in case of mitigating circumstances, imprisonment or expulsion abroad.

On May 23, 1922, Lenin and his wife left for Gorki. Tried to work, nothing worked. Looked unimportant. On May 25, after dinner, Ilyich had heartburn, and before going to bed he felt weakness in his right arm. In the morning I was vomiting and had a headache. Lenin could hardly speak, lost the ability to read ("letters floated"), could not write (only the letter "m" was obtained). Weakness was felt in the right arm and leg. But after about an hour, all the symptoms disappeared.

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The doctors decided that this was a consequence of gastritis, prescribed a laxative and rest. However, on the evening of May 27, everything happened again, now with a complete loss of speech. Professor Kramer stated thrombosis (blockage) of cerebral vessels. Later, paralysis of the right limbs was repeated many times, but quickly disappeared.

Lenin's condition either worsened or improved again. Memory, speech, and the ability to write periodically returned. But Lenin no longer believed in recovery. But he did not want to give up politics, to leave power for private life. A few days after the attack, Lenin wrote to Stalin: "Vol. Stalin! Doctors, apparently, create a legend that cannot be left without refutation. They were taken aback by a strong seizure on Friday and did a purely stupid thing: they tried to ban "political" meetings (they themselves poorly understood what this meant). I got extremely angry and sent them off. On Thursday Kamenev visited me. Lively political conversation. Great sleep, great feeling. On Friday, paralysis. I demand you urgently, in order to have time to say, in case of an exacerbation of the disease. Only fools can blame political talk here. If I ever get worried, it is because of the lack of timely and competent conversations. I hope you will understand this, and send the fool of the German professor and Co. away. Be sure to come to tell us about the plenum of the Central Committee or send one of the participants ... "

Vladimir Ilyich already guessed that the cause of the illness was not overwork from meetings and conversations, but was connected with some kind of disease of the vessels of the brain. This threatened complete paralysis and dementia. Lenin did not want to live like this. And it was not at all that he needed a story about the plenum from Stalin. On May 30, 1922, Joseph Vissarionovich responded to Lenin's request and visited the patient. Ilyich asked

strength to get the poison: "Now the moment that I told you about earlier has come, I have paralysis, and I need your help." Stalin promised, but assured Lenin that it was too early to think about poison, since all chances for recovery were preserved.

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yutsya. Here is what Maria Ilya Ulyanova told about this episode: "In the winter of 20/21, 21/22, V.I. felt bad. Headaches, loss of working capacity greatly disturbed him. I don't know exactly when, but somehow during this period V.I. said that he would probably end up with paralysis and took Stalin's word that in this case he would help him get and give him potassium cyanide. Stalin promised.

Why V.I. turned with this request to Stalin? Because he knew him for a hard, steely man, alien to any sentimentality.

Soon Lenin's condition improved, and thoughts of suicide left him for a while. On June 11, he woke up like a different person. Lenin spoke of his condition in the following way: "I immediately felt that a new force had entered me. I feel very well ... A strange illness, what could it be? I would like to read about it."

And Ilyich began to read medical books, which he took from his brother Dmitry, a doctor. But it was a waste of time. The mysterious disease was not diagnosed by the luminaries of science then, nor decades later. Hereditary syphilis was suspected, and they tried to treat it. The postmortem autopsy did not seem to confirm this diagnosis, but did not refute it either. True, the most important pathoanatomical examination of the aortic arch for diagnosing this disease was not carried out (it is affected in the first place in hereditary syphilis). And some of Lenin's relatives at one time died from an illness with approximately the same symptoms that were found in Vladimir Ilyich. Lenin's father died of cerebral vascular sclerosis, also at the age of 53. This illness overtook her mother already at the venerable age of 70, so her sclerosis could be the result of aging of the body. It is quite possible that Lenin's illness really had a hereditary character.

And they did not deliberately investigate the aortic arch. People's Commissar of Health N.A. Semashko specifically asked the pathologist who performed the autopsy, Professor A.I. Ab

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Riksov to pay special attention to the evidence that Lenin did not have syphilis in order to preserve the bright face of the leader. So Alexey Ivanovich did not go into the arch of the aorta - out of harm's way. They did not do a blood test for the Wasserman reaction. True, the analysis of the cerebrospinal fluid

STI was produced repeatedly, and here Wasserman's reaction was negative. Nevertheless, the diagnosis of hereditary syphilis remained neither confirmed nor refuted.

Other possible diagnoses are multiple sclerosis and Alzheimer's disease. Which of the diagnoses is true is now impossible to determine.

Lenin continued to experience short-term spasms, which led to partial paralysis of his right limbs. He conveyed his feelings during the seizures in this way: "It looks like the letter '5' in the body and in the head too. At the same time, my head is spinning a little, but I did not lose consciousness ... If I had not been sitting at that time, then, of course, I would have fallen. Lenin, under the guidance of Krupskaya, again learned to write, to solve the simplest arithmetical problems, and to memorize short words and phrases.

Ilyich's illness made a stunning impression in the party ranks. Trotsky's wife, Natalya Sedova, wrote in her diary: "The first rumors about Lenin's illness were passed on in whispers. No one seems to have ever thought that Lenin might get sick. Many people knew that Lenin vigilantly watched the health of others, but he himself seemed not to be susceptible to illness. Almost the entire older generation of revolutionaries was heartbroken, tired from too much workload. "Motors give overloads in almost everyone," the doctors complained. "There are only two serviceable hearts," Professor Getye told Lev Davidovich, "this is Vladimir Ilyich's and yours. With such hearts, live up to a hundred years. The study of foreign doctors confirmed that two of the hearts they heard in Moscow work extremely well: these are the hearts of Lenin and Trotsky. When in

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Lenin's health took a sudden turn for wide circles, it was perceived as a shift in the revolution itself. Can Lenin really fall ill, like anyone else, and die? It was unbearable that Lenin lost the ability to move and speak. And I firmly believed that he would overcome everything, rise and get better ... "

By an evil irony of fate, both Bolshevik leaders with unusually well-working hearts did not live to be a hundred years old. Lenin at the age of 53 was killed by a mysterious illness, "Trotsky at 60 was killed by an ice pick inflicted by the hand of a Stalinist agent. But the masses could not foresee how the life path of the leaders would end. should take. But for Nadezhda Konstantinovna Ilyich was not a myth, but a living person. She knew much more than others about how severe the illness that struck her husband was, but, like everyone else, she harbored hopes for recovery. Especially since things seemed to have gone for the amendment.

On October 2, 1922, Lenin returned to Moscow, and the next day he chaired a meeting of the Council of People's Commissars. But on October 6, at the Plenum of the Central Committee, he felt unwell and in the following days abandoned several public speeches he had planned earlier. He confessed to the old party member Iosif Stanislavovich Unshlikht: "Physically I feel good, but there is no longer the former freshness of thought. To put it in the language of a professional, he lost his ability to work for quite a long time.

Nevertheless, on October 31, Vladimir Ilyich was able to speak at a meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and still during November lead the meetings of the Council of People's Commissars. On November 20, Lenin made his last public speech at a meeting of the Moscow City Council. He ended this speech with a remarkable passage about icons: "Socialism is no longer a matter of a distant future, or some abstract picture, or any icon. As for the icons, we remained of the opinion of the old, very bad. We dragged socialism into everyday life

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and this is where we need to figure it out. This is what constitutes the task of our day, this is what constitutes the task of our epoch. Allow me to conclude by expressing confidence that no matter how difficult this task is, no matter how new it is in comparison with our previous task, and no matter how many difficulties it causes us, we all together, not tomorrow, but in a few years, we will all solve together this task at all costs, so that out of NEP Russia there will be socialist Russia. It was as if he foresaw that after death he himself would be turned into an icon.

Ilyich did not live to see the transformation of Russia from NEP to socialist. And he did not learn about the millions of victims of forced collectivization, nor about the terror of the 1930s, nor about the tens of millions who died in the Great Patriotic War. Although, one must assume, he foresaw all this to one degree or another, considered it necessary and inevitable. Otherwise, I would not have demanded from Kursky to expand the use of executions in the new code, I would not have formulated the famous Article 58 according to the principle: "if I want, I will imprison (or shoot)." And the fact that in a war against the imperialists it is not a sin to kill for the sake of victory for one enemy even several of the best communists (not to mention non-party ones), as we remember, Lenin quite frankly declared back in January 1920!

On November 25, 1922, a council of doctors decided that Lenin needed absolute peace and rest. However, Ilyich tried to resolve a number of current affairs and left for Gorki only on the evening of December 7th. On December 13, two severe attacks followed, with a complete loss of speech. Doctors noted in the medical history: "With great difficulty, we managed to persuade Vladimir Ilyich not to speak at any meetings and for a while completely refuse to work. Vladimir Ilyich finally agreed to this and said that today he would begin to liquidate his affairs. On December 16, Lenin dictated to Krupskaya a letter transferring all duties to his

their deputies. Two days later, the patient's condition became even worse. On December 18, the Central Committee conferred on the Secretary General

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Stalin's responsibility for observing the regime of isolation prescribed to Lenin by doctors.

December 22-23 - a new strong attack. And on the 23rd, Lenin begins to dictate to the secretary M.A. Volodicheva secret "Letter to the Congress" (KhPI Congress of the RCP was to open on January 11, 1923), where it recommends that Stalin be removed from the post of General Secretary. The next day the doctors reported to Stalin, Kamenev and Bukharin about the leader's condition and that he had begun to dictate. The "troika" of members of the Polit Bureau decided: "1. Vladimir Ilyich is given the right to dictate every day for 5-10 minutes, but this should not be in the nature of correspondence, and Vladimir Ilyich should not wait for an answer to these notes. Dates are prohibited. 2. Neither friends nor family should tell Vladimir Ilyich anything from political life, so as not to give material for reflection and unrest. Lenin finished dictating the Letter on January 4, 1923. Subsequently, it was often referred to as the "political testament" of the leader.

Lenin did not skimp on bright colors when characterizing his colleagues in the Politburo and the Central Committee: "Comrade. Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated immense power in his hands, and I am not sure whether he will always be able to use this power with sufficient caution. On the other hand, com. Trotsky, as his struggle against the Central Committee on the question of the NKPS has already proved, is distinguished not only by his outstanding abilities. Personally, he is perhaps the most capable person in the present Central Committee, but he is also overly self-confident and overly enthusiastic about the purely administrative side of things. These two qualities of the two outstanding leaders of the modern Central Committee are capable of inadvertently leading to a split..." But the helpless leader was most afraid of a split. After all, then his offspring - the October Revolution, and after it the world revolution would be in danger of death (Ilyich thought so, but not Stalin).

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Lenin described other members of the Central Committee even less respectfully. Zinoviev and Kamenev were reminded of their "October episode" when they not only voted against the armed uprising, but also reported this secret decision in the newspapers. Grigory Yevseyevich and Lev Borisovich never differed in anything but courage, and Lenin directly alluded to this.

Bukharin's theoretical views, according to Lenin's definition, are scholastic and "very doubtfully

here be classified as completely Marxist" (Vladimir Ilyich modestly considered as such only the views of Marx, Entels and his own).

Yury Lsonidovich Pyatakov, a man "of undoubtedly outstanding will and outstanding abilities, but too keen on administration and the administrative side of things to be relied upon in a serious political issue," also got it. Translated into a common human language, this meant that Pyatakov, at that time Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy Dzerzhinsky (there was little sense from the "iron Felix" in the Supreme Council of the National Economy), was primarily concerned with the management of the national economy and professional qualities of their employees, not their political integrity. This, according to Lenin, made Yuri Leonidovich himself not quite trustworthy.

In a word, all sisters on earrings. But in the final part of the letter, dictated on January 4, 1923, Kobe got the most of it: "Stalin is too rude, and this shortcoming, quite tolerable in the environment and in communications between us communists, becomes intolerable in the position of General Secretary. Therefore, I suggest to the comrades that they think over the method of moving Stalin from this place and appoint another person to this place, who in all other respects differs from Comrade. Stalin with only one advantage, namely, more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capriciousness, etc. ...

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from the point of view of protection against a split and from the point of view of what I wrote ... about the relationship between Stalin and Trotsky, this is not a trifle, or it is such a trifle that can be of decisive importance.

Let's say, with something, but it was difficult to surprise Lenin with scolding. He himself, both verbally and in writing, more than once scolded both his opponents and his party comrades-in-arms with the last words, so that sometimes in the collected works he had to put ellipses. Mikhail Voslensky very accurately described the final period of Lenin's activity as head of the Council of People's Commissars in the book "Nomenklagura": "When you read page after page of the last volumes of the Complete Works, an image of a constantly irritated, capricious and captious boss arises, who, according to everyone. occasion suits dressings to the subordinates. The comradeship that united him with these people in recent emigration has sunk into the forgotten past. Subordinates fawn and revere. And the more they fade away and burn incense, the more firmly the boss becomes convinced that he is infallible, but is surrounded by lazy half-wits who need to be whipped and poke their noses into everything. The leader of the recent revolution already speaks of the revolutionaries with undisguised contempt..."

Therefore, in the letter to the congress, Lenin's logic is not entirely clear. Since rudeness in communication between communists is a completely tolerable thing, then what's the trouble if Stalin once again scolds one of the party members (God himself ordered to scold the imperialists, Mensheviks, and simply non-party people who were guilty of something). One might think, it is true, that Lenin considers it unacceptable if Stalin, who occupies a key post in the Party, is rude to Party comrades. And those who are completely dependent on him and will not be able to answer *tenseku* with the same irreverence. However, didn't Ilyich himself allow himself in exile to scold his Bolshevik comrades-in-arms, who were dependent on him in monetary or other respects? After all, not one of the cursed comrades-in-arms ever answered in

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I expect in adequate non-parliamentary terms. One gets the impression that Stalin's rudeness is only a pretext for Ilyich to remove Iosif Vissarionovich from the post of general secretary. The ailing chairman of the Council of People's Commissars seriously feared that the enormous power concentrated in his hands as the arbiter of the fate of all members of the party, Stalin might not give to anyone, including him, Lenin. Husband Krupskaya still hoped for a recovery.

Interestingly, both of the Bolshevik leaders singled out in the letter, together with Lenin himself, were the most ruthless of all members of the Politburo. When the highest party body had to directly decide on the execution of individual arrested or taken hostage, Kamenev, Kalinin or Rykov sometimes showed mildness. But the troika Lenin-Stalin-Trotsky almost always sent the unfortunate to their deaths. Vladimir Ilyich felt that only one of these two, Stalin and Trotsky, could become his successor, but he thought that the choice of a successor was still far away.

Lenin insisted that all five copies of the letter be kept in a sealed wax envelope, which could be opened only by himself, and after his death, only by Krupskaya. However, Volodicheva did not make a corresponding note on the envelope. Secretary of the Council of People's Commissars L.A. Fotieva (she and Volodicheva were on duty at the bedside of the sick leader in shifts) read the letter and introduced it to Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev. By that time they had formed a triumvirate against Trotsky in the Politburo, and the removal of Stalin from the post of General Secretary did not suit all three. At the first congress without Lenin, the XIII, the discussion of Lenin's letter was organized not at a plenary session, but by delegations whose leaders had already been oriented in the right spirit by the general secretary. As a result, Stalin remained in his post, limiting himself to a promise to correct the shortcomings noted by Lenin. And these shortcomings were - lack of tolerance, loyalty, politeness and attentiveness to

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party comrades, as well as capriciousness. Iosif Vissa Rionovich really turned out to be extremely attentive to all the members of the Politburo and the Central Committee mentioned in Lenin's letter: he destroyed them. No person - no problem, in this case - problems with Ilyich's will.

But this happened after the death of Lenin. In the meantime, the disease has gradually progressed. In February 1923, as Professor V.V. Kramer, again "there were at first insignificant, and then deeper, but always only fleeting violations in speech ... It was difficult for Vladimir Ilyich to remember the word that he needed ... He was not able to pronounce the honor he dictated to the secretary. ... He began to say something tautos that could not be completely understood.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna was constantly next to her husband. On March 5, Ilyich dictated a letter to Trotsky with a request: "to undertake the defense of the Georgian cause at the Central Committee of the Party. This case is now under the "persecution" of Sgalin and Dzerzhinsky, and I cannot rely on their impartiality. Even quite the opposite. If you agreed to take over his protection, then I could be calm.

It was about the desire of the leadership of the Georgian Communist Party, headed by Budu Mdivani, to achieve greater autonomy for their country as part of an artificially created Transcaucasian federation and their own independence from the Transcaucasian Regional Committee of the RCP, which was headed by Ordzhonikidze. The commission of the Central Committee headed by Dzerzhinsky, which arrived to analyze the conflict, took the side of the regional committee, and in the heat of the discussion, Sergo hit one of the Georgian communists in the face. Lenin categorically condemned the behavior of Ordzhonikidze and Dzerzhinsky, who covered him up, seeing here a manifestation of "Great Russian chauvinism." Vladimir Ilyich insisted on reaching a compromise between the Transcaucasian regional committee and the Georgian communists, so that it would be possible "to really protect the foreigners from the truly Russian gibberish." In notes dictated on 30 de

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In December 1922, he accused Stalin, who supported Ordzhonikidze and Dzerzhinsky, of "administrative passion" and bitterness against "social nationalism" (this is how the opponents characterized the views of the Mdivani group). On learning that the Politburo had approved the conclusions of the Dzerzhinsky Commission, Lenin asked Trotsky to reverse this decision and protect the Georgian communists. By that time, a powerful anti-Trotskyist bloc of Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev had already formed in the Politburo, which Lenin probably did not know about. Trotsky's speech could hardly change the situation. Having learned that due to illness, Lev Davidovich would not be able to participate in the "Georgian affair", on March 6, 1923, Lenin dictated the last note in his life. She

was classified as "strictly secret" and was addressed to Mdivani and his comrades. Copies were intended for Trotsky and Kamenev. Lenin reported: "I follow your cause with all my heart. Outraged by the rudeness of Ordzhonikidze and the indulgence of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky. I'm preparing notes and a speech for you." Vladimir Ilyich did not have time to write any speech. His intercession by Mdivani did not help. Budu and his comrades were safely shot in the 37th. Nor did their opponent Ordzhonikidze survive. Due to a conflict with Stalin, he shot himself in the same year, fearing imminent reprisals. The Georgian conflict may have brought Lenin's death a little closer, and in the most unexpected way. On March 5, 1923, Ilyich dictated a letter to Trotsky in the presence of Krupskaya. Nadezhda Konstantinovna broke down and told her husband about her encounter with the general secretary. Perhaps this act was provoked by the critical tone of the letter in relation to Stalin. For two and a half months she braced herself and did not say anything about the unpleasant incident, so as not to excite the patient. The incident took place on December 21st. That day, at the request of her husband, she dictated a letter to Trotsky, which supported his position on the monopoly of foreign trade. Stalin became aware of the contents of the letter. General Secretary

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suspected that Nadezhda Konstantinovna had informed Ilyich about the decision of the plenum of the Central Committee to support Trotsky's position, which was opposite to Stalin's. The next day he gave Krupskaya a dressing down.

Here is how Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova describes these events: "Stalin called her to the phone and in a rather harsh form, apparently counting on V.I. it won't reach, he began to tell her not to tell V.I. about business, otherwise, they say, he will pull her to the Central Control Commission. N.K. this conversation was extremely exciting: she was completely unlike herself, sobbed, rolled on the floor, etc.

On December 23, 1922, Nadezhda Konstantinovna wrote to Kamensv with a letter: "Lev Borisovich, regarding a short letter I wrote under the dictation of Vlady Mir Ilyich with the permission of the doctors, Stalin allowed himself yesterday towards me the rudest trick. I have been in the party for more than one day. In all 30 years I have not heard a single rude word from a single comrade; the interests of the Party and Ilyich are no less dear to me than to Stalin. Now I need maximum self-control. I know better than any doctor what can and cannot be discussed with Ilyich, because I know what worries him and what does not, and in any case better than Stalin. I am addressing you and Grigory (Zinoviev. - B.S.) as V.I. and I ask you to protect me from gross interference in my personal life, unworthy abuse and threats. And at the end she said a few words about the Central Control Commission: "I have no doubts about the unanimous decision of the Control Commission, which Stalin allows himself to threaten, but I have neither the strength nor the time that I could spend

to this stupid squabble. I am also alive, and my nerves are tense to the extreme.

Kamenev hushed up the matter, no organizational conclusions regarding Krupskaya, of course, followed, but the cautious Lev Borisovich did not scold Sgalin for his outburst either. All that remained in Nadezhda Konstantinovna's heart was the weight of what had happened. Although, according to Mary

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Ilyinichna Ulyanova, a few days later Stalin called Krupskaya and "obviously tried to smooth over the unpleasant impression made on Nadezhda Konstantinovna by his reprimand and threats."

Lenin, having learned about this incident, was also very agitated. He dictated an angry letter to Stalin: "Dear comrade Stalin. You were rude to call my wife to the phone and scold her. Although she agreed to forget what was said to you, nevertheless this fact became known through her to Zinoviev and Kamensva. I do not intend to forget so easily what was done against me, and it is useless to say that I consider what was done against my wife to be done against me. Therefore, I ask you to consider whether you agree to take back what was said and apologize or prefer to break off relations between us. Sincerely, Lenin.

The tone of the letter is striking. Ilyich does not defend the honor of an offended wife, he does not stand up for an offended woman. No, he is primarily concerned about his own honor, about maintaining his own authority. Emphasizes: by insulting his wife, Stalin insulted him himself. It turns out that Nadezhda Konstantinovna for Lenin is some kind of symbol, an obligatory attribute of the head of the party and government, but by no means a close, beloved person. Ilyich, it seems, was hurt most of all not by the fact that Stalin dared to scold a woman, but by the fact that he had already ceased to reckon with him, with Lenin. This means that he feels that the disease is fatal and the days of the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars are numbered.

Lenin became ill. An entry in the journal of secretaries on duty dated March 5, 1923, testifies: "Vladimir Ilyich called about 12. He asked me to write down two letters: one to Trotsky, the other to Stalin; hand over the first personally by telephone to Trotsky and tell him the answer as soon as possible. For now, he asked to postpone the second one, saying that something was not working out well for him today. I felt unwell."

The next day, according to Volodicheva's entry, Lenin read a letter addressed to Stalin and "asked

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to edit personally and receive an answer from hand to hand. Productio-

shaft letter to the Mdivani group. Felt bad. Nadezhda Konstantinovna asked that this letter not be sent to Stalin, which was done during the 6th (i.e., translating from clerical to generally understandable: on that day, the letter to Stalin was never delivered. - B.S.). But on the 7th I said that I must carry out the order of Vladimir Ilyich. She had a talk with Kamenev, and I personally handed over the letter to Stalin and Kamenev, and then to Zinoviev when he returned from St. Petersburg. Stalin's answer was received immediately after he received Vladimir Ilyich's letter (the letter was delivered by me personally to Stalin and his reply to Vladimir Ilyich was dictated to me). Vladi's letter to the world of Ilyich has not yet been delivered, since he fell ill.

Here is the text of Stalin's letter, which Lenin may never have received: "To Lenin from Stalin. Only personally. T. Lenin! About five weeks ago, I had a conversation with T. N. Konstantinovna, whom I consider not only your wife, but also my old party comrade, and told her on the phone approximately the following: "The doctors forbade giving Ilyich political information, considering such a regime to be the most important means to cure him, meanwhile, Nadezhda Konstantinovna, it turns out, you are violating this regime, you can't play with Ilyich's life, "etc. You, for I did not pursue any other goals, except for the goal of your speedy recovery. Moreover, I considered it my duty to see that the regime was carried out. My explanations with N. Konstantinovna confirmed that there was nothing here but empty misunderstandings, and could not be.

However, if you think that in order to preserve "relationships" I must "take back" the words said above, I can take them back, refusing, however, to understand what is the matter here, where is my fault and what actually they want from me.

I. Stalin.

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Iosif Vissarionovich subtly felt both the meaning of Lenin's letter and the leader's growing anxiety about his position in the party. And I realized that Lenin would not recover and did not regain his former power! Therefore, in the letter he speaks with him absolutely on an equal footing, recognizing neither the superiority of Ilyich, nor Lenin's right to criticize him, Stalin, in anything. The General Secretary makes it clear: "You, Ilyich, are not worried about Nadezh de Konstantinovna, who is already largely indifferent to you. You worry about your own position. Calm down: I only care about your health. But do not console yourself with the illusion that you will be reckoned with, as before, eagerly catching your every word as a guide to action. I'll probably apologize so as not to upset you, but I don't feel guilty anyway."

Meanwhile, on March 6, Lenin, possibly as a result of the disturbances he had endured, had a two-hour seizure with complete loss of speech and paralysis of the right side of the body. The next day, Ilyich makes it clear that he is better. But on March 10, the attack recurred and now, according to Professor Cramer's note, it led to "persistent changes both in speech and in the right limbs."

It is possible that the content of Stalin's letter, albeit in the most general form, Lenin nevertheless learned through his sister. Maria Ilyinichna recalled: "One morning Stalin called me to V.I.'s office. He looked very upset and distressed: "I didn't sleep all night," he told me. "Who does Ilyich think I am, how does he treat me!" Like some kind of traitor. I love him with all my heart. Tell him that sometime." I felt sorry for Stalin. I thought he was genuinely upset.

Ilyich called me for some reason, and I told him, among other things, that the comrades bowed to him. "A," objected V.I. "And Stalin asked me to send you warm greetings, asked me to say that he loves you so much." Ilyich chuckled and remained silent. "Well," I asked, "tell him and from you

A.

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hello." "Pass it on," replied Ilyich rather coldly. "But, Volodya," I continued, "he is still smart, Stalin." "He's not smart at all," replied Ilyich decisively and grimacing.

Undoubtedly, Stalin did not sleep the night of March 7th to 8th, having received Lenin's letter. Maybe he even came to the conclusion that he was too harsh in his reply letter. And now, with the help of Maria Ilyinichna, he tried to influence Ilyich's mood, to defuse the tension that had arisen between them. Possibly counting (or even having instructed the secretaries accordingly) that Lenin did not get acquainted with the letter. And he, it seems, reluctantly decided that it was not worth completely breaking off relations with Stalin in the current helpless situation. Iosif Vissarionovich can still come in handy, at least to fulfill a long-standing request for poison.

In her memoirs of the last months of Lenin's life, published only in 1989, Krupskaya notes that the period from March to July 1923 was "associated with severe physical suffering and severe nervous excitations ..." On March 14, regular public tion in the newspapers of bulletins on the state of health of the leader. Now neither read, nor write, nor speak normally, nor adequately understand the speech addressed to him.

he couldn't.

On March 21, 1923, Stalin wrote a "strictly secret" note for members of the Politburo outlining Lenin's request: "On Saturday, March 17, Comrade Ulyanov (N.K.) informed me, in an arch-conspiratorial manner, "VI. Ilyich Stalin" that I, Stalin, take upon myself the duty to get and hand over VI. Ilyich a portion of potassium cyanide. In a conversation with me, N.K. said, among other things, that "VI. Ilyich is going through incredible suffering", that "to continue to live like this is unthinkable", and stubbornly insisted "not to refuse Ilyich his request". Due to the special perseverance of N.K. and in view of the fact that V. Ilyich demanded my consent (V.I. two

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waiting for N.K. during a conversation with me and anxiously demanded "Stalin's consent"), I did not consider it possible to refuse, saying: "I ask V. Ilyich to calm down and believe that, when necessary, I will fulfill his demand without hesitation." V. Ilyich really calmed down.

However, I must declare that I do not have enough strength to fulfill the request of V. Ilyich, and I am forced to abandon this mission, no matter how humane and necessary it may be, which I bring to the attention of the members of the Bureau of the Central Committee.

Members of the Politburo left their signatures on the note. AMP.
Tomsy - also a resolution approving the actions of the Secretary General: "I read. I believe that Steel's "indecisiveness" is correct. It should have been in a strict composition of the members of Paul. Bureau to exchange views. Without secretaries (technical)".

And immediately after the conversation with Krupskaya, "in hot pursuit", Stalin sent his colleagues in the "triumvirate" Zinoviev and Kamenev a shorter note: "Nadezhda Konstantinovna just called me and reported in secret that Ilyich was in a "terrible" state, with seizures, "does not want, cannot live longer and requires potassium cyanide, for sure." She reported that she "tried to give potassium, but "there was not enough endurance", which is why she demanded "Stalin's support". Grigory Evseevich and Lev Borisovich objected categorically and left the following resolution: "This is absolutely impossible. Foerster gives hope - how is it possible? Yes, if it wasn't! You can't, you can't, you can't."

One can imagine what it was like for Nadezhda Konstantinovna to convey this request. I will only note that Ilyich could ask her to speak with Stalin on such an intimate topic only if he decided to accept Stalin's apologies and consider the incident between him and Krupskaya over. Lenin was sure that Stalin's hand would not waver. Krupskaya did not have the courage to help Ilyich end his suffering. The poor fellow retained the ability to think with the almost complete impossibility of bringing his thoughts to

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those around him and understand what they are saying to him. This extremely tormented Lenin. Often he cried.

Curiously, the alleged suicide was considered "nebulous" and "necessary." The word "humanism", so rare for a Bolshevik, appears in his lexicon. However, for the time being, Koba does not consider it possible to force the departure of the leader "to the other world." Lenin is still needed by the "triumvirs" in order to finally isolate Trotsky under the guise of his name, to remove him from the real levers of power. Ilyich's agony had to be prolonged.

It turned out that in vain Lenin hoped for Stalin. Iosif Vissarionovich did not justify his pseudonym, under the sun and doomed the leader to an almost infantile existence in the last months of his life. Here, of course, there was a certain political calculation, and not following the Christian commandment "Thou shalt not kill," which was completely alien to Stalin, as well as to Lenin himself.

In the meantime, the entries in the "Diary of a doctor on duty", which replaced the "Diary of secretaries on duty", did not inspire optimism until mid-May. Thus, on March 11, it was noted: "Doctor Kozhevnikov went to see Vladimir Ilyich at 11 and a quarter o'clock. The complexion is pale, sallow, the expression of the face and eyes is sad... All the time he tries to say something, but soft, inarticulate sounds are heard... Today Vladimir Ilyich, especially in the evening, began to understand worse what they say to him, sometimes he answers "no" when, by all accounts, the answer should be yes.

The picture was equally bleak the next day, when urgent reinforcements arrived from Germany: "Prof. Minkowski and Foerster. From the train station, Dr. Kozhevnikov went with them to a meeting of the Politburo, and from there to Vladimir Ilyich... From the side of the nervous system, the consciousness is clear (apparently!), almost complete motor aphasia, today Vladimir Ilyich cannot say anything .. Vladimir Ilyich does not understand well what he is talking about

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to do. He was given a pen, glasses and a cutting knife. At the suggestion to give glasses, Vladimir Ilyich gave them, at the request for a pen, Vladimir Ilyich again gave glasses (they were closest to him) ... After visiting Vladimir Ilyich, all the doctors were again in the Politburo ... "

On March 17, when Lenin asked Krupskaya for potassium cyanide, the diary records: "After the medical visit, Vladimir Ilyich had a good lunch. After a while, he wanted to express some thought or some desire, but neither his sister, nor Maria Ilyinichna, nor Nadezhda Konstantinovna could understand Vladimir Ilyich at all, he

he began to get terribly worried, they gave him bromine, Maria Ilyichna called Dr. Kozhevnikov, he went to bed .. " Probably, it was the thought of suicide that excited Lenin so much. Ilyich was already disappointed in the doctors' efforts to bring him back to normal life. Doctors, especially foreign ones, irritated the patient more and more. He was oppressed by the thought that he had to pay large fees in foreign currency to German and Swedish professors for nothing.

Doctors suspected Lenin of hereditary syphilis of the brain and prescribed the appropriate treatment: very painful procedures for rubbing mercury, but Lenin, according to Kozhevnikov, showed idiosyncrasy to mercury, that is, intolerance. This and other unpleasant procedures developed Lenin's idiosyncrasy towards the German doctors as well. He confessed to the same Kozhevnikov: "For a Russian person, German doctors are unbearable."

But a miracle happened: in the middle of May 1923, a noticeable improvement occurred in Lenin's condition. They began to put Ilyich on the veranda of the Kremlin apartment to get some fresh air, and on May 15, observing careful precautions, they were transported to Gorki, accompanied by a group of doctors. Kozhevnikov noted that Lenin "became stronger physically, began to show interest both in his condition and in everything around him, recovered from the so-called sensory phenomena of aphasia, began to learn to speak...".

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Together with speech therapist S.M. Dobrogaev Krupskaya tried to help her husband regain the gift of speech. Subsequently, she continued the education of Ilyich on her own. Lenin used very few words and almost all of them were one complex and disyllabic: "here", "lead", "go", "go", "olya la". The expression "just about" became universal for him, conveying the whole gamut of feelings. After many days of studies with Nadezhda Konstantinovna, Vladimir Ilyich mastered several more complex and especially beloved words: "congress", "people", "people", "worker", "peasant" and the main word of his life "revolution". Krupskaya recalled her skills as a teacher and used the means and techniques that are used to teach oral and written speech to young children: the letters of the alphabet on cardboard squares, forced her husband to repeat the words several times in a row, drove her husband's left hand with her hand, which he tried to learn to write. The words "mother" and "dad" written in this way have survived. However, Lenin almost never managed to remember the spoken words and repeat, much less write them on his own. Although some progress was nevertheless observed: Vladimir Ilyich could move around the room with a stick, make some meaningful gestures, sometimes use his love to the place.

my "here".

Nadezhda Konstantinovna was having a hard time with Ilyich's illness. Almost the only outlet for her was

letters to the daughters of a former rival. On June 23, 1923, she wrote to Varya and Inessa Armand: "My dear girls, how do you live? Do you have a good rest? I often think of you and miss you. I have long wanted to write to you, to caress you, but the pen falls out of my hands. It is very difficult for me to write, but I think about you all the time: you are the closest to me. First of all, I will write about V. Now there are days when I begin to think that recovery is possible, although it will not be soon. With walking, things are going best, the hand also began to recover a little. Specialist in speech (S.M. Dobroga

zoz

ev. - B. S.) assures that it is better with speech, in my opinion, this is not so. The general condition is good: good pulse, normal temperature, good appetite, sleep is also gradually getting better. When the weather permits, he sits for a long time on the terrace; sometimes he goes to the garden. The mood is different, sometimes worse than bad, sometimes nothing. It all depends on who is on duty: which doctor, which nurse, which orderly. In general, he gets tired of constant pushing. More doctors than needed. Thank God that only Foerster remained of the Germans. Well, let's see what will come out of all this flour. Manya (M.I. Ulya nova. - B.S.) is completely worn out, coughing and nervous. I still try to work in the mornings, although I'm getting worse and worse, but, in general, I have become completely incapacitated. Longing is wild. Sometimes I roar like a beluga. Most of all, I love it when Rozanov (a famous surgeon. - B.S.) is on duty. Recently we talked a lot about Inessa with him, after all, they worked together in the Moscow Society for the Improvement of the Plight of Women. He told me something about this work... That's all. I changed my mind about many things during this time, I understood a lot that I did not understand before. Someday, dear Innochka, I will see your child, I would very much like to see him and you. Please, take care of yourself: do not get tired, sleep more, eat on time, open the windows and sometimes think of me. This last one must also be useful for our little one ... What do you think?

In the next letter, sent in early July, Krupskaya again expressed concern about the health of Inna and her baby, punishing: "You, my girl, eat more - this is necessary for the child. One does not have to dream of babysitting him, but how nice it would be. Think, I would get used to me, stretched out his little hands, smiled. So I want to have a baby's body sometime. Well, the card has arrived. I have a very poor imagination, and I can't imagine you in an environment unfamiliar to me.

Write often. I am completely alone in the world now. You can't go to V. for the last few days, he's terribly angry,

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if anyone enters. The last two weeks in the mood happened

was turning for the worse. In general, at some point it seems that nothing could be worse, and then it got even worse. However, today I am in a very gloomy mood and only upset you in vain. Doctors say it will pass. In recent days, V. has also caught malaria, which has greatly weakened him. And the weather is disgusting, as luck would have it.

This is how we live. I get up, if possible, than earlier, at 5 o'clock, and in the morning I do a little, and then I become incapable of anything. However, it does get easier. On the third day, for example, V. was taken out into the sun, and he kept smiling, and when he fell asleep, I went to pick berries, picked wild flowers, and made acquaintance with the workers of the state farm.

Yes, Krupskaya's life during her husband's illness was very difficult. And it is no coincidence that she poured out her soul only to the daughters of Inessa Armand (she did not have such close relations with her sons). Nadezhda Konstantinovna so dreamed of having children, but God did not give them children with Ilyich. And the daughters of Inessa Fedorovna became for Krupskaya as if her own. After all, these were the children of the person closest to Ilyich, who died tragically early. In the perception of Nadezhda Konstantinovna, Lenin's light fell on them, as it were. And she also had a premonition that Ilyich was unlikely to get better, and besides, he didn't have long to live. And after Lenin's death, Inna and Varya will remain the only close people. Krupskaya treated Inna's son almost like her own grandson.

The July letter to Inessa's daughters was written during the period when Lenin had another exacerbation of his illness. Here is what Vladimir Petrovich Osipov, an outstanding psychiatrist and academician who treated Lenin, said about this: «...About June 22, a new and final exacerbation of the disease begins, which lasted about a month. At that time he was in a state of excitement, he sometimes had hallucinations, he suffered from insomnia, lost his appetite, it was difficult for him to lie quietly in bed, his head ached, and he only

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but then he calmed down somewhat when they carried him around the room in an armchair ... In the second half of July, the aggravation was quiet, his health began to improve again, and soon Vladimir Ilyich could go to the park near the house in which he lived; sleep was restored, his appetite improved, he gained weight, he felt cheerful, he was in a good mood, and, of course, the first thing he became interested in was speech exercises again.

His care was impeccable. All economic concerns lay with his sister, Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova (Krupskaya's inability to manage the household was well known. - B.S.), and Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya took over all the spiritual care, so to speak ... These two women sacrificed for him all personal interests and surrounded him with all kinds of comforts -

mi... Before this exacerbation, speech exercises were performed by a doctor, and here Vladimir Ilyich expressed with gestures a definite desire that Nadezhda Konstantinovna conduct speech exercises. He apparently did not want others to see this shortcoming of his speech, it was unpleasant for him. Nadezhda Konstantinovna is an experienced teacher, but for these classes you need to have special knowledge. Therefore, we met every evening and gave her certain instructions, and in this way, under our guidance, she conducted these classes, which proceeded very successfully.

On July 29, 1923, the chairman of the financial committee of the Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, Evgeny Alekseevich Preobrazhensky, wrote to his friend and co-author on the "ABC of Communism" Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin about two visits by Lenin - shortly after the June crisis and later, when things began to improve again: "During first visit ... spoke to both Nadezhda Konstantinovna and Maria Ilyinichna in great detail. The old man was then in a state of great irritation, continued to harass even Foerster and others. Swallowing only dutifully quinine and iodine, he was especially

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and, in my opinion, completely in vain, against desire. And yet, she went to him.

The second time, 4 days ago, I went again ... I just went downstairs, with Belenky (the head of security Lenina. - B.S., as in the room to the right of the entrance, Belenky showed me through the window with his hand, said: "Out they are taking him." I went to the closed window and began to look. At a distance of 25 paces, he suddenly noticed me, to our horror, began to press his hand to his chest and shout: "Here, here," demanded me. I had just arrived and still I didn't see M.I. and N.K. They came running, M.I., excited, said: "Once I noticed, I have to go." I went, not knowing exactly how to behave and whom I, in essence, would see "I decided to carry on all the time with a weighty, joyful face. He came up. He shook my hand firmly, I instinctively kissed him on the head. But the face! It took me great effort to keep my mine and not cry like a child. In it so much suffering, but not so much suffering at the moment. On his face, all the suffering he had endured in recent times seemed to be photographed and frozen. MI blinked at me when I had to leave, and he was taken further. Five minutes later I was called to the table to drink tea with him. He treated me with gestures of raspberries, etc., and he himself drank from a glass in a bite, wielding his left hand. They talked about hunting and all sorts of trifles, which did not irritate. He understands what he listens to. But I did not understand everything that he wanted to express, and N.K. were correct, in my opinion. However, you can't convey everything. For the last week and a half he has had a very significant improvement in every respect except his speech. I spoke with Furster. He thinks that this is not a random and short-term improvement, but that the improvement can be lasting ... "

It seemed that Lenin's affairs were slowly, but on the mend. In August, Ilyich again asked to read newspapers to him. Nurse T. M. Belyakova, who cared for Lenin in the Kremlin, and then in Gorki, recalled: "Vladimir Ilyich always greeted the appearance of Maria Ilyinichna with joy. Veche

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rum was patiently waiting for her return from the editorial office of Pravda. And if for some reason she was late, he asked me to call and find out when she would arrive. Maria Ilyinichna almost always returned from work with a fresh issue of Pravda, smelling of printing ink. She took a small bench and sat down at the head of Vladimir Ilyich. First, she told him editorial news, and then she read the most interesting notes and articles published in the newspaper. Lenin remained dissatisfied with certain materials, considering their publication on the pages of the central party organ to be erroneous. He asked Maria Ilyinichna to inform the editorial board of Pravda about this. On the contrary, he approved other articles, saying that they should have been placed in the newspaper in the most visible place, accompanied by an editorial comment...

According to the newspapers, Lenin closely followed the development of a large patriotic movement to raise funds for the construction of aircraft of the Red Air Fleet. He rejoiced: the working people of the Soviet Republic voluntarily made their donations, thereby strengthening the country's defense capability (and this in a country that had barely recovered from a severe famine, which at that moment no one was going to attack; one can imagine how "voluntary-compulsory" This campaign had a character! When you think about how many additional victims from starvation and disease it brought because people gave the last pennies for bomb carriers, and not for bread and milk for children, you really don't want to rejoice. - B. S)

One day, it was August 30, 1923, as usual, mail was brought to Gorki. Nadezhda Konstantinovna selected the fresh tazeta and, before taking them to Vladimir Ilyich, decided to look through Pravda. Unfolded. The entire first page was devoted to the fifth anniversary of the attempt on Lenin's life.

"It will excite Ilyich," Krupskaya said aloud. Pravda wrote: "August 30 is a bitter date, scary

zo8

that unforgettable day when the agents of the bourgeoisie—the Socialist-Revolutionaries—tried to take Ilyich away from the Soviet people... The world proletariat carries in its heart the bullets that pierced the chest of Comrade. Lenin ... He will return them to his enemies at the hour of re-

stout battle for communism. He will send them into the heart of the bourgeois..."

Nadezhda Konstantinovna nevertheless decided to show the newspaper to Vladimir Ilyich. Went to his room. He smiled affably and nodded his head: read, they say. Started reading. And I saw how Lenin felt sad at first, and when Krupskaya read the words: "The revolution performed a miracle: it saved itself, saved the working class, kept the republic of labor for all humiliated mankind. This republic is alive and growing," Vladimir Ilyich suddenly cheered up, his eyes shone with light.

The kindest Taisiya Mikhailovna, it seems, believed in the myth of the eternally living Lenin, who almost until the last days of his life kept his finger on the pulse of the country and even gave guidelines: what to Pravda to print and what not to print. So you can imagine how Ilyich, either by frowning, or by his signature "just about," expresses approval or disapproval of this or that newspaper material, and Maria Ilyinichna and Nadezhda Konstantinovna tensely catch every sound and immediately write it down. Those around Lenin really wanted to believe in the miracle of his recovery. Unwittingly, the desired was passed off as real. Vladimir Ilyich was credited with a completely meaningful reaction to the articles and notes read to him by his wife and sister. In fact, the situation here was the same as in the case of glasses, a pen, and a paper knife. After all, Lenin was still unable to write, and meaningfully pronounced no more than a dozen words. Therefore, it is impossible to judge with certainty whether the patient understood what was read to him correctly and whether he understood it at all.

Much more realistic, although probably also not without idealization, describes the process of Ilyich's acquaintance with newspapers

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psychiatrist academician V.P. Osipov, who observed Lenin during his illness: "... Understanding the speech of others was restored completely and so well that he became interested in the content of newspapers; he was read newspapers, editorials, telegrams and other information that interested him; then, being himself a newspaper worker, he understood the contents of the newspaper; opening the newspaper, he knew where the editorial was, where

telegram, and immediately pointed out with his finger what he was interested in. Sometimes there were exciting articles in the newspapers, the contents of which Nadezhda Konstantinovna avoided conveying. Having become interested in some place, he demanded repetition, and he could read something himself. He retained his understanding of figures, and in connection with this, and by the drawing of the gas station, he perfectly distinguished old newspapers from new ones. As for free speech, it was most affected; he was able to use only a few words, but he could repeat the words, which is why there were

exercises are aimed at restoring independent speech through repeated repetition of words. At first things were tough. Vladimir Ilyich could repeat only one-syllable words, and then two-syllable and even polysyllabic ones began to succeed; at first they wrote down the words that he could repeat, but then they stopped, because the number of recorded words exceeded one and a half thousand, and it became clear that if he could say one and a half thousand words, then he could repeat two, three thousand and more.

The ability to read, which had been lost along with speech during the period of exacerbation of the disease in March 1923, also began to gradually recover.

He could already distinguish letters and read words; for this he was shown drawings, and when looking at them he could name the objects depicted on them and even pronounce phrases. Usually they showed a drawing with a signature, and then without a signature, and he called the object depicted in the drawing; he also independently found verbal designations corresponding to the depicted object

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among other written words. Exercises were begun in writing with the left hand, which, especially in this case, is a significant difficulty, but Vladimir Ilyich managed to overcome this obstacle, and he could write quite well with his left hand - he wrote letters and words and already copied words well.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna did all these exercises with her husband. And she showed pictures, and drew out letters, holding his hand with a pencil in her hand. I hoped that someday the former Ilyich, smart and active, would return.

On September 2, 1923, Krupskaya wrote to Inessa Armand: "My dear Innochka, I have not written to you for ages, although I thought about you every day. But the fact is that now I spend whole days with V., who is recovering quickly, and in the evenings I fall into insanity and am no longer capable of writing letters. The correction is going well - he sleeps excellently all the time, the stomach too, his mood is even, now he walks (with help) a lot and independently, leaning on the railing, goes up and down the stairs. The hand is given baths and massages, and it also began to get better. With speech, too, progress is great - Foerster and other neuropathologists say that now speech will be restored for sure, what has been achieved for. last month, usually reached in months. He's in a very good mood, and now he sees that he's getting better - I'm already asking him to be his personal secretary and I'm going to study shorthand. Every day I read him a newspaper, every day we take long walks and study

Zinoviev was just as optimistic when, on September 26, 1923, he spoke at a party meeting.

nii: "About July 20, Vladimir Ilyich's state of health began to improve, which is still developing and becoming more noticeable every day ... He has been walking independently for three days, and next to him is one of his comrades just in case. ... He takes walks in a car ... In the worst state of affairs with speech - but even here it goes

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evil

improvement ... As for independent speech, now it's bad ... When the improvement began, it was that he could not pronounce one syllable from two letters. Now here's where things get better...

The question was raised about moving Vladimir Ilyich somewhere to the south. We all suggested going south, but the doctors were against it, and most importantly, Vladimir Ilyich was against it. Osipov says, apparently, he is a conservative person in his personal life and is resolutely against any south ...

Newspapers are read to Vladimir Ilyich, at first with passes, now they are without passes. The table of contents of the newspaper is read to him, and he chooses what to read and what not to read... Concerning the events in the Ruhr (the occupation of the Ruhr by French troops. — B.S.), Nadezhda Konstantinovna brought him up to date and then read it to him. He did not express much surprise. Regarding the fact that in the Ukraine the surpluses of rich peasants are taken away, he expressed great displeasure that this had not been done so far. He is perfectly aware of his condition and takes care of himself very much ... he conducts the treatment, takes care of himself ...

He disperses doctors around him, and with difficulty they manage to listen to him (i.e., listen to the heart and lungs. - B. SO) ... At the end of June they gave extremely pessimistic reviews, leaving not a single percent of hope for a good outcome . But from the middle of July things began to improve and did not

stopped."

Of course, Grigory Evseevich, speaking to a fairly large, albeit Party audience, does not tell the whole truth. In fact, Ilyich's newspapers are also read, of course, with exceptions, and he shows what to read largely at random. And, of course, almost devoid of the gift of speech, Lenin cannot conduct his treatment in any way. Yes, and he clearly lacked medical knowledge for the role of a conductor and up to the "kondrashka". But on the whole, Zinoviev gave a comparatively objective picture of Lenin's condition and, probably,

ril in the recovery of the leader.

However, autumn was coming to an end, and Ilyich remained in an almost infantile state as before. If on September 13, Nadezhda Konstantinovna, with some optimism, informed Inna Armand: "The amendment continues with us, although everything is going damn slowly ...", then already on October 28, alarming notes slipped in the letter: "... he's bored. In the summer people crowded around, now there is no one, and V. is very homesick, especially on walks. Every day he has some kind of conquest, and somehow we all continue to hang between life and death. Doctors say - all the data that he will recover, but now I know for sure that they don't know a damn thing, they can't know. "

In her skepticism towards doctors, Krupskaya turned out to be right. An unknown illness undermined Lenin's organism faster than those around him thought. After all, the Politburo believed that, although the leader's full recovery was hardly possible, his stable state of health, after the June attack had been stopped, would last indefinitely.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna, in her memoir essay "The Last Six Months of the Life of Vladimir Ilyich," published only in 1989, noted: "And we also talked about the need to be patient, that we must look at this disease all the same as imprisonment ... Therefore, I told Vladimir Ilyich that illness should be regarded as a prison, when a person involuntarily drops out of work for a while. She did not know that Lenin did not have long to live and that he would not be able to get out of the new "prison".

On October 18, Ilyich asked to be taken to Moscow. Pere spent the night in his Kremlin apartment, the next day he went by car to an agricultural exhibition, but the rain prevented the tour. Then they returned to the Kremlin

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for selected books and returned to Gorki. This was Lenin's last visit to the capital.

In November 1923, Trotsky sent a short note to Krupskaya. Unlike Stalin, Lev Davidovich addressed himself very politely: "Dear Nadezhda Konstantinovna! I am forwarding to you the American proposal regarding the treatment of V.I., in case it interests you. A priori speaking, I do not have much confidence in the proposal. With comradely greetings, L. Trotsky. What exactly the American Aesculapius proposed, we do not know. But there is no doubt that Trotsky's assessment was correct. The then medicine was powerless to help Lenin. However, and today, probably, too. Unless, even today, shunting of the affected vessels of the brain, which is quite exotic today, and even it could only

delay the end for a long time.

Since November, the health of Vladimir Ilyich began to gradually deteriorate. The artist Yuri Annenkov, from whose portrait the first Soviet stamp depicting Lenin was issued in 1924, testified: "In December 1923, L. B. Kamenev took me to Gorki to make a portrait, or rather, a sketch of the sick Lenin. We were met by Krupskaya. She said that a portrait was out of the question. Indeed, reclining in a deck chair, wrapped in a blanket and looking past us with a helpless, twisted infantile smile of a man who had fallen into childhood, Lenin could only serve as a model for illustrating his terrible illness, but not for a portrait.

The feeling of an approaching end arose in mid-January 1924. Then the 13th party conference opened in Moscow. Its participants wanted to know the true state of health of the leader, and on January 18, Krupskaya telephoned to the members of the Politburo: "Recovery is proceeding satisfactorily. He walks pretty well with a cane, but he can't stand up without help... He pronounces from

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efficient words, can repeat all sorts of words, understanding their meaning quite clearly... He began to read from the Party discussion (in fact, Nadezhda Konstantinovna and Maria Ilyinichna read to him. - B. S. ". However, she herself, despite the optimistic tone of her own message later, in the memoir essay "The Last Six Months of the Life of Vladimir Ilyich," Nadezhda Konstantinovna admitted: "Starting from Thursday (that is, from January 17! - B. S.), V. I. looked terribly tired and exhausted, he often closed his eyes, somehow turned pale, and most importantly,

somehow the expression of the face changed, there was some other look, as if blind. Here you can see something symbolic: a person who is firmly convinced that he sees the way to a better future, at the end of his life, looked like a blind man.

The denouement came on January 21, 1924. The story of paramedic Vladimir Alexandrovich Rukavishnikov, who was on duty that day at Lenin's bedside, has been preserved: was weaker than usual, was lethargic and complained about his eyes - as if at times he could not see well. Professor Averbakh was summoned from Moscow to examine Vladimir Ilyich's vision.

Popov went to Moscow, I stayed. Vladimir Ilyich was sitting at that time in his room with Nadezhda Konstantinovna, and she was reading the newspaper aloud... At 7:45, Maria Ilyinichna told me that supper was ready and that

name is Vladimir Ilyich. At dinner, Vladimir Ilyich
you didn't eat anything.

Professor Averbakh arrived at about 9 o'clock. Vladimir Ilyich, who had met him earlier, greeted him with a kind gesture. Professor Averbakh established that the vision was excellent, that there were no changes in the bottom of the eye, and that the visual acuity was the same as before.

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At 11:00 Vladimir Ilyich went to bed, and 15 minutes later I could hear his even breathing. Vladimir Ilyich slept very calmly, and it was thought that everything would turn out well.

On the morning of the 21st at 7 o'clock, as always, Nadezhda Konstantinovna got up. She asked how the night had passed, listened to Ilyich's breathing and said: "Well, everything, apparently, is fine, you'll get some sleep, and the evening weakness will pass. Coffee was served around 8 o'clock.

9 o'clock. Ilyich is still sleeping. Nadezhda Konstantinovna and I have everything ready to let Ilyich wash when he wakes up. I wait for the usual call, I often look into the room, because my alertness has not vanished: Ilyich is still sleeping.

About 10 o'clock - a rustle. Vladimir Ilyich wakes up. "What, Vladimir Ilyich, will you get up?" The answer is not certain. I see that his sleep did not support him in the least and that he is much weaker than he was yesterday. I reported this to Professors Foerster and Osipov. In the meantime coffee was brought to Vladimir Ilyich, and he drank it in bed. He drank, became somewhat animated, but did not get up and soon fell asleep again.

Professor Foerster and I did not leave the bedroom door. Nadezhda Konstantinovna and Maria Ilyichna were also there. Everyone is alert, but Ilyich sleeps calmly, so calmly, so well, that again the certainty breaks through that Ilyich will wake up refreshed and everything will go well. So I wanted, so I thought, but it was not so in reality.

At 2:30 Ilyich woke up even more tired and even weaker. Professor Osipov came to see him, looked at his pulse and found that it was weakness, nothing threatening. Maria Ilyichna brought dinner. Ilyich drank a cup of broth and half a glass of coffee in bed. The food taken did not revive Ilyich, and he became weaker and weaker. Professor Osipov and Professor Foerster observed him directly.

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At about 6 o'clock Vladimir Ilyich began to have a seizure,

convulsions reduced the whole body. Professor Foerster and Professor Osipov did not leave for a minute, they watched the activity of the heart and pulse, and I kept a compress on Vladimir Ilyich's head. At 6:35 I noticed that the temperature suddenly rose. I told Professor Osipov and Professor Foerster about this, but they immediately did not even believe it and said that it was a mistake. But this was not a mistake - after 3 minutes, Vladimir Ilyich was gone.

Krupskaya also described Lenin's agony (one can only guess what emotional experiences this "evidence for history" cost her): "...More and more, his chest was bubbling. The gaze became unconscious, Vladimir Alexandrovich (Rukavishnikov. - B. S.) and Pyotr Petrovich (head of security Pakaln. - B. S.) held him almost in weight in their arms, at times he groaned muffledly, convulsions ran through the body, I held at first by his hot, wet hand, then she only watched how the handkerchief became stained with blood, how the seal of death fell on a deathly pale face. Professor Foerster and Dr. Yelistratov injected camphor, tried to maintain artificial respiration, nothing came of it, it was impossible to save. Death came at 6:50 p.m. on January 21, 1924. "Epde" (end (German). - B.S.), - Professor Foerster stated impassively.

It was the strongest shock in Nadezhda Konstantinovna's not-so-rich-for-events life. As she later admitted: "Time got mixed up for me somehow." And the first to whom Krupskaya wrote a letter about the last moments of Ilyich was Inna Armand. On January 28, 1924, Nadezhda Konstantinovna finally gathered her strength to tell a loved one how everything was: "My dear, dear Inochka, we buried Vladimir Ilyich yesterday. He was ill for a short time the last time. On Sunday (January 20. - B.S.) we studied with him, read to him about the Party Conference and the Congress of Soviets. Doctor is not expected

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whether death and still did not believe when the agony began. They say he was unconscious, but now I know for sure that the doctors do not understand anything. An autopsy revealed colossal sclerosis (which, in fact, the doctors did not doubt before; another thing is that the cause of sclerosis has not been established. - B.S.). It could have been much worse, there could have been new paralysis... Each new attack made me feel cold. Now the coffin has not yet been closed up, and it will be possible to look at Ilyich yet. His face is calm, calm. He stood in the House of the Unions, everything was very good there ... "

Krupskaya did not yet know that the coffin would never be closed up, and on the embalmed body of the leader they would be placed in a mausoleum near the Kremlin wall, next to the grave of Inessa Armand, dear to Ilyich, for eternal preservation, as if in anticipation of the coming resurrection. The living god has turned into an icon. Although on January 30, 1924, Nadezhda Konstantinovna spoke

drank in Pravda with a letter where, in connection with the creation of a fund for the construction of monuments to Ilyich, she seemed to warn against the posthumous deification of her husband: "I have a big request to you: do not let your sadness for Ilyich go into external veneration of his personality. Do not arrange monuments to him, palaces in his name, magnificent celebrations in his memory, etc. - he attached so little importance to all this during his lifetime, he was so weary of all this. However, if you think about it, read these lines, then the leader's widow here only opposes the external forms of his veneration. The best monument to Ilyich, according to Nadezhda Konstantinovna, was to be the building of socialism and communism, the mastery of the only true doctrine, which would soon be called Leninism. Krupskaya was embarrassed that Lenin's body was going to be placed in a mausoleum - this smelled of some kind of Eastern religions, and she had long been a consistent atheist.

But the party leadership managed to persuade the widow: you can't deprive millions of contemporaries and descendants of the opportunity to see with their own eyes the genius of all times! Sta

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Lin, Zinoviev, Kamenev and other leaders needed the relics of the main saint of the new religion. Vladimir Dmitrievich Bonch-Bruевич, former manager of the affairs of the Council of People's Commissars under Lenin, recalled: "Nadezhda Konstantinovna, with whom I constantly talked on this issue, was against the mummification of Vladimir Ilyich. But the idea of preserving the image of Vladimir Ilyich so gripped everyone that it was extremely necessary, extremely necessary for millions of the proletariat, and it began to seem to everyone that all personal considerations should be left behind and join the general desire ("the majority of the Politburo," Vladimir Dmitrievich did not venture to add . - B. S.).

Krupskaya submitted to party discipline, and not for the first time, she sacrificed "personal considerations" for the benefit of the revolution. It is unlikely that she then realized that the deification of Lenin would save her from the sad fate of other old Bolsheviks, most of whom did not survive 1937. Although back in July 1924, at the UG congress of the Komsomol, she called: "Lenin should not be turned into an icon, his ideas should serve as a guide to action." It turned out that they turned Ilyich into an icon, and turned many of his ideas into reality - both about terror, and about the seizure of surplus grain from the peasants (this, as we remember, Lenin was very worried even before his death), and about the ideological party monopoly in the Soviet state and the suppression of all dissent. Nadezhda Konstantinovna very soon had to experience the struggle against dissent on her own skin.

In the first days after the death of Ilyich, Inna Armand wrote a heartfelt letter to Nadezhda Konstantinovna: "My dear, my beloved, my dear, I embrace you and kiss you.

I love so hard, so hard. I kiss your dear eyes. All my thoughts, all thoughts are with you ... My dear, dear, I know that it's impossible to console, but still you think that you are not completely alone, that you still have your girls, like you have us

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you call, and that we love you dearly, dearly, and together with you we mourn terribly for Vladimir Ilyich. He's so dear, beloved, I still didn't want to believe. How can this be? Here (Inessa, together with her husband, the German communist Hugo Eberlein, worked in the Soviet trade mission in Germany. - B.S.), all the comrades are experiencing this common grief so hard. Yesterday there was a cell, so no one could speak well, everyone was crying so much. If I could come to you, hug you, be with you all the time. Perhaps you would be a little glad in the clear eyes of my girl. I will write to you, my dear, my beloved. And you, when you can, when it's easier, write to me, because it's become so hard and lonely here that it's just terrible. There, I know, all the comrades will pull themselves together, will close together more closely, will work more amicably. So I would like to be with you, grieve together and together, clenching our teeth, start working harder and better. I kiss you many times, my dear, beloved, I constantly think about you and our dear Ilyich. Hugo firmly, firmly shakes your hand. Your Ina. As soon as there is the slightest opportunity, I will definitely come to you, my dear.

As for the fact that after the death of the leader, the party members will "pull up", "close up" and begin to "work more friendly", the daughter of Inessa Fedorovna was very mistaken. From the beautiful German distance, it was probably difficult to see that already in the last months of Lenin's life, a tense struggle for power began in the party elite. Krupskaya was also to be drawn into this struggle. Lenin's widow's support for one of the warring factions became a certain amount of political capital. Thus, the corresponding group, as it were, consecrated their activities in the name of Ilyich. Nadezhda Konstantinovna turned into a symbolic figure of the keeper of Lenin's precepts.

The last months of Lenin's life were overshadowed for Krupskaya by the realization that her husband still did not like her.

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bit. Even those around him noticed that Ilyich was especially pleased with the appearance of Maria Ilyinichna, and the presence of Nadezhda Konstantinovna sometimes irritated him. Although Lenin, appreciating the selfless devotion of his wife, tried to hide his dislike from her. Rukavishnikov captured a typical episode: "Once I was an involuntary witness to this: Ilyich is sitting with Nadezhda Konstantinovna. She reads, he listens attentively. Sometimes requires re-

read one place or another. Both seem to be in a great mood. But here she is. Ilyich sat down, somewhat covering his face with his hand, leaning on the table in a thoughtful pose... And suddenly tears rolled from under his hand... Choo, a rustle. Steps. Someone is coming. Ilyich straightened up. Wiped away the tears. He took up the book as if nothing had happened..." Who knows if Lenin remembered Inessa Armand at such moments...

Nadezhda Konstantinovna gradually recovered from the shock she had experienced. Employee of the People's Commissariat of Education A.I. On February 3, Radchenko wrote in her diary: "Today Nadezhda Konstantinovna, for the first time after Leni's death, did not come to the meeting of the People's Commissariat for Education. She lost weight utterly during this time - some kind of shadow. Apparently, it was very hard for her from furtive glances of condolence. And Varya Armand recalled: "Nadezhda Konstantinovna, in order not to leave

alone with irreparable grief, she plunged headlong into party affairs and work in the People's Commissariat for Education.

On June 14, 1924, Krupskaya wrote to Varya, who was resting after pneumonia in Suuk-su: "I live as before: I was at my beloved Prokhorovka, at the State Manufactory, at the Leavers factory - I hung around there, even the October baby (we are talking about the October - the rite introduced by the Bolsheviks, parodying baptism, the fruit of this rite was the numerous Industrina, Vilena, Oktyabrina and even Traktor in the 1920s. - B.S.). I love visiting factories. Well, the youth had it, tried - at the worker's faculty of Pokrovsky, at the 1st Moscow State University, at Timir

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Zevtsev, - she made reports on work in the village. Still on the qualification of illiteracy. I will also go to Tver, Yaroslavl, Ivanovo-Voznesensk. I won't go on vacation, but I will spend three days a week in Gorki, I was there last week, I'm going today. It's better to write there. Manyasha (M.I. Ulyanova. - B.S.) is getting sick. Today they also set doctors on me, but I only agree to drink any vile thing, but I won't obey their regime, I'll tell you in advance ... I now specialized in work in the countryside, and they harness me to all sorts of commissions for work in the village, work everything arrives. Therefore, I don't go to the Lenin Institute either ... I now have many new cards of Vladimir Ilyich.

For the rest of her life, Nadezhda Konstantinovna wrote memoirs about Lenin. But that wasn't what took up most of my time. Krupskaya was increasingly sucked into the bureaucratic swamp. What, one wonders, did she understand in the life of the Russian village, which she knew only from a comfortable exile life in rich Shushenskoye? And how much sense was from its meetings in countless commissions? Later, in September 1929, speaking at a party conference in the Baumansky district of Moscow, Nadezhda Konstantinovna painted a completely apocalyptic picture: "You used to sleep at night

and you see: enlightened affairs lie before you, and someone eats them up. And this is Narkomfin. You should only leave for a month - fear! - something has already happened. We have to fight for every issue. Now there is a furious struggle for the restructuring of public education. But we alone, the enlightened ones, are powerless to do much. We don't have a sufficient base, we don't have enough attention of the masses." So you see piles of papers being devoured by the monster Nar komfin! And Krupskaya had to swim in this sea of paper all her life, reading a lot of incoming and outgoing messages, participating in countless meetings to coordinate projects and programs. Although, of course, she was far from Lenin's record of 40 meetings a day.

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Back in 1921, in one of the articles, Nadezhda Konstantinovna advocated the introduction in Soviet institutions of the Taylor system used in American factories. This system, as is known, consists in the expedient division of labor and the maximum rationalization of labor movements. Krupskaya naively believed that bureaucracy could be eradicated if only rational methods of administration were introduced: "Who is to blame here—evil saboteurs, old bureaucrats who got into our commissariats, Soviet young ladies? No, the root of bureaucracy lies not in the evil will of one or another person, but in the lack of the ability to systematically and rationally organize work ... Employees of Soviet institutions, employees of people's commissariats ... must be acquainted with the methods of labor productivity in as much detail as possible ... Only by raising the level of consciousness of all employees, only by involving them in the work of raising the productivity of the work of the commissariats, is it possible to really improve things and destroy, not in words, but in deeds, dead bureaucracy.

To Nadezhda Konstantinovna's credit, she did not begin to explain the growth of bureaucracy by the intrigues of enemies. Later, in 1937, this explanation became a propaganda cover for repressions against old party cadres. However, the belief that it is enough to teach officials how to optimally arrange folders on a table and use an arithmometer, and raise their level of consciousness in order to get rid of bureaucracy, also turned out to be a myth. In practice, in the field of management, it is not Taylor's system that operates, but Parkinson's law - each institution seeks to increase its staff, regardless of the increase or decrease in its functions. Socialism transfers almost all the functions of regulating the economy and public life to the state. Therefore, the growth of bureaucracy in the USSR was absolutely inevitable. No attempt to introduce sound management systems to limit sprawl

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bureaucracy could not. And, as we have seen, in 1929 the situation in this respect did not seem better to Krupskaya than in 1921. Although, of course, bureaucrats of all levels, from the people's commissar to a simple clerk, have become more literate, and office equipment has increased in institutions.

But in the mid-1920s, Krupskaya had to pay much more attention not to the rationalization of managerial work and pedagogy, but to politics. Immediately after the leader's first attack of illness, the struggle for Lenin's legacy, still hidden from the eyes of the public, began. And in this struggle, Nadezhda Konstantinovna had to determine her place.

Of the members of the Politburo, personally closest to Lenin, and therefore to Krupskaya, were Zinoviev and Kamenev. With them, Vladimir Ilyich and Nadezhda Konstantinovna were connected by many years of joint stay in exile. However, the third and main member of the triumvirate, General Secretary Stalin, did not evoke sympathy from Krupskaya. And after the December incident, their relationship was generally rather strained, although formally correct.

On the other hand, Nadezhda Konstantinovna could not but know that in the last months of his conscious life, Lenin, before he lost the ability to express his thoughts, became close to Trotsky and supported him against Stalin. In the first weeks after the death of her husband, Krupskaya tried to establish closer contact with Lev Davidovich than before. So, on January 29, 1924, she sent a letter to Trotsky with news that was pleasant for his conceited nature: "I am writing to tell you that about a month before his death, while looking through your book, Vladimir Ilyich stopped at the place where you give characterization of Marx and Lenin, and asked me to reread this passage to him, listened very attentively, then looked it over again himself. And here's something else I want to say: the attitude that V.I. to you when you receive

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hali to us in London from Siberia, did not change with him until his death. I wish you, Lev Davidovich, strength, health and hug you tightly.

Later, Trotsky, already in exile, in one of his articles after Krupskaya's death, called her "a sincere and delicate woman", probably referring to this letter as well. And in his memoirs he commented on him this way: "She took two extreme points of connection with Lenin: the October day of 1902, when, after escaping from Siberia, I raised Lenin in the early morning from his hard London bed, and the end of December 1923, when Lenin twice re-read my assessment of his life's work.

What was meant here was the following passage from Trotsky's article "On the Fifty Years (National in Lenin)", written

sleigh in 1920: "Lenin reflects the working class not only in its proletarian present, but also in its still fresh peasant past. This most indisputable leader of the proletariat has not only a muzhik appearance, but also a strong muzhik background. In front of Smolny stands a monument to another great man of the world proletariat: Marx on a stone, in a black frock coat... You can't even mentally dress Lenin in a black frock coat. In some portraits, Marx is depicted with a starched shirt-front wide open, on which something like a monocle dangles ... Marx was born and raised on a different national and cultural soil, he breathed a different atmosphere, just as the tops of the German working class have their roots not to the peasant village, but to the guild craft and the complex urban culture of the Middle Ages. Probably, at the end of his life, Lenin was flattered to realize that he was on a par with Marx, and even closer in spirit than the founder of the doctrine, to the common people.

Lev Davidovich continued: "Two decades passed between these two points, first joint work, then fierce factional struggle, and again joint work.

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bots on a higher historical basis. According to Hegel: thesis, antithesis, synthesis. And Krupskaya testified that Lenin's attitude towards me, despite the long period of antithesis, remained "London": this means an attitude of warm support and friendly affection, but already on a higher historical basis.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna quite had the tact not to specify in a short letter that between October 1902 and December 1922, Lenin more than once or twice rewarded Trotsky with completely non-parliamentary epithets, of which "yew darling" is still the mildest. There were also "rogue", and "under the face", and some others from the same series. But now Krupskaya was trying to win Lev Davidovich over to her side against Stalin, and it was not worth remembering the old one.

However, Trotsky did not live up to the hopes placed in him. The chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council at that moment, as well as in the last months of Lenin's life, was seriously ill with epilepsy, was forced to retire from active political life for a while and was unable to resist Stalin and his temporary allies.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna felt a certain ambivalence in her position. Friendship with Zinoviev and Kamenev and, at the same time, very cold relations with Stalin. Trotsky is not very familiar to her, but Ilyich showed great interest in this man and clearly supported many of his undertakings. So it's also very out of hand to quarrel with Lev Davidovich. Therefore, it would be ideal for Krupskaya to reach a compromise between the various factions and restore unity.

parties. Lenin also aspired to the same thing, fearing that the rivalry between Trotsky and Stalin would split the party and thereby weaken its ability to hold on to the gains of the Russian revolution and carry out a world revolution.

While Ilyich was still alive, on October 31, 1923, Krupskaya wrote to Zinoviev about the

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During the joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, at which Trotsky was attacked for his demand for the democratization of inner-party life: "Dear Grigory, after the plenum I wrote you a letter, but you were leaving, and the letter could lie. Now, re-reading it, I decided not to send it to you, all the questions are pointed out in it. In the atmosphere of the "freedom of language" that reigned at the plenum, it was appropriate and understandable, but a week later it sounds different... In all this outrage... one has to blame more than Trotsky. For everything that has happened, we have to blame our troupe: you, Stalin and Kamenev. You could, of course, but did not want to prevent this disgrace. If you could not do this, it would prove the complete impotence of our group, its complete helplessness. No, it's not the impossibility, but the unwillingness. Ours themselves took the wrong, unacceptable tone. You can not create a quiet atmosphere

squabbles and personal accounts.

Workers - I'm not talking about workers like Yevdokimov or Zalutsky (party functionaries. - B.S.), workers by origin, but who have long turned into professionals, but workers from a plant and factory - not only Trotsky would be sharply condemned, but also us. The healthy class instinct of the workers would compel them to speak sharply against both sides, but even more sharply against our group responsible for the general tone. That is why everyone was so afraid that this squabble would be taken out to the masses. The whole incident has to be hidden from the workers. Well, and the leaders, who must hide something from the workers (I'm not talking about purely conspiratorial affairs - that is a special article), do not dare to tell them everything - what is it? You can not do it this way.

The abuse of the name of Ilyich, which took place at the plenum, is also completely unacceptable. I imagine how indignant he would be if he knew how his name was being abused. It's good that I wasn't there when Petrovsky said that Trotsky was to blame for Ilyich's illness, I

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shouted: this is a lie, most of all V.I. it was not Trotsky who cared, but the national question and the morals that had taken root in our upper circles. You know that V.I. saw the danger of a split not only in the personal qualities of Trotsky, but also in the personal qualities of Stalin and others. And because you know it, links to

Ilyich were unacceptable, insincere. They couldn't be allowed in. They were hypocrites. Personally, these links brought unbearable torment to me. I thought: is it worth it for you to get well when the closest comrades at work treat him like that, take his opinion so little into account, distort it like that?

And now the main thing. The moment is too serious to create a split and make it psychologically impossible for Trotsky to work. We must try to deal with him like a comrade. Formally, now the entire odium (in this case, guilt. - B.S.) for the split has been dumped on Trotsky, but it has been dumped, but in essence, wasn't Trotsky led to this? I don't know the details, and it's not the point—because of the trees you often can't see the forest—but the essence of the matter: we must take into account "Trotsky as a party force, and be able to find a situation where this force would be used to the maximum for the party." Well, here, she said what lies in my soul.

Of course, none of the triumvirs was going to deal with Trotsky "comradely" at that moment. Grigory Evseevich and Lev Borisovich could not even imagine in a nightmare that in some two years they would have to urgently try to form a bloc with their worst enemy, Lev Davidovich, in a hopeless attempt to stop the progress towards absolute power of Joseph Vissarionovich. The "wonderful Georgian" then finished them all off.

It is significant that, despite the critical remarks, Nadezhda Konstantinovna calls the troupe of Kamenev, Zinoviev and Stalin "ours". For her, Trotsky is not only not "ours", but in general a certain force, almost external in relation to the party, which only needs to be used in

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the interests of the party. To use as long as there is a need for it, and then ... The Moor has done his job, the Moor must go. Interestingly, Krupskaya expressed her opinion here or repeated the words of Ilyich?

Trotsky described the history of his relationship with Lenin during the period of Ilyich's illness in the following way: "Lenin felt that in connection with his illness, for him and behind my back, still almost imperceptible threads of a conspiracy were weaving ... There is no doubt that for the current In many cases it was more convenient for Lenin to rely on Stalin, Zinoviev or Kamenev than on me. Constantly preoccupied with saving his own and other people's time, Lenin tried to minimize the expenditure of forces on overcoming internal friction. I had my own views, my own methods of work, my own methods for implementing the decisions already taken. Lenin knew enough about this and knew how to respect it. That's why he knew all too well that I wasn't fit for assignments. Where he needed daily performers of his tasks, he turned to others ... Thus, Lenin appointed his deputies in charge of the chairmanship of the Council of People's Commissars

attracted first Rykov and Tsyurupa, and then ... Kamenev. I thought this was the right choice. Lenin needed obedient practical assistants. I wasn't fit for this role...

In the last weeks before the second blow (that is, in November or early December 1922. - B.S.) ... Lenin had a big conversation with me about my future work ... "Yes, we have monstrous bureaucracy, - Lenin remarked, - I was horrified after returning to work ... But that is precisely why you should not, in my opinion, plunge into separate departments beyond the military ... You need to become my deputy (in the Council of People's Commissars. - B.S. .)". I ... referred to the "apparatus", which makes my work more and more difficult, even in the military department. So you can shake up the apparatus," Lenin quickly picked up, alluding to the expression I once used. I answered what I mean is not

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only state bureaucracy, but also party bureaucracy; that the essence of all the difficulties lies in the combination of the two apparatuses and in the mutual harboring of influential groups that gather around a hierarchy of party secretaries. Lenin listened intently and confirmed my thoughts in that deep, difficult tone that appeared in him when, having made sure that the interlocutor understood him to the end, and, abandoning the inevitable conventions of the conversation, he openly touched upon the most important and disturbing. After a little thought, Lenin put the question point-blank: "So you are proposing to open a struggle not only against state bureaucracy, but also against the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee (which determined the personnel policy. - B.S.)" I laughed in surprise. The Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee meant the very center of the Stalinist apparatus. "Perhaps it turns out like this." "Well, then," continued Lenin, obviously pleased that we had named the essence of the issue, "I propose to you a bloc: against bureaucracy in general, against the Orgburo in particular." "It is flattering to conclude a good bloc with a good person," I replied. We agreed to meet again after some time. Lenin suggested that we consider the organizational aspect of the matter. He planned the creation of a commission under the Central Committee to combat bureaucracy (it turned out: we will strike bureaucracy with bureaucracy! - B.S.). We both had to get into it. In essence, this commission was supposed to become a lever for destroying the Stalinist faction, as the backbone of the bureaucracy, and for creating such conditions in the party that would give me the opportunity to become Lenin's deputy, in his opinion: the successor to the post of chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. Only in this connection does the meaning of the so-called testament become completely clear... The indisputable purpose of the testament is to make my work of leadership easier." According to Trotsky, only the exacerbation of Lenin's illness prevented the success of the planned bloc.

I think that such a conversation between Lenin and Trotsky really could have taken place. Only Vladimir Ilyich

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he thought of himself a little differently than Lev Davidovich understood. Lenin felt that Stalin's ever-increasing control over the party apparatus was a threat to his own power, especially in connection with his illness. Ilyich then still hoped that he had time for active political activity. And he hoped that he would be able to announce the "testament" at one of the party congresses.

It is probable that after Stalin's removal from the post of general secretary, Lenin hoped to give this position again purely technical functions, and to make the Council of People's Commissars the center of power. And, in order to guarantee the preservation of his influence during periods when the disease would not allow for direct leadership, he developed a "system of checks and balances" (today this system is often considered a proprietary invention of the first Russian president). Trotsky would replace Ilyich as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, but in turn would have three deputies who were not very sympathetic to him - Kamenev, Rykov and Tsyurupa. In addition, Stalin would also remain a counterbalance to Trotsky, who would also receive not the last post in the system of power.

The proposed commission for the fight against bureaucracy was pure fiction, and Ilyich himself understood this. He hoped that Trotsky would fall for this proposal and decide that he would receive an effective lever to strengthen his influence. In fact, as the experience of Soviet decades has shown, commissions of this kind have been set up more than once. only increased bureaucracy. They were intended only to give the people the impression that the authorities were fighting the bureaucrats. However, the disease nullified Lenin's plan.

After the death of Lenin, Trotsky was doomed to defeat in the fight against Stalin. Although Vladimir Ilyich warned in his "Letter to the Congress" that Lev Davidovich should not be blamed for his former "non-Bolshevism", the majority in the Politburo and the Central Committee thought otherwise. In the fight for

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mastery of the leadership of the Bolshevik party Trotsky, in principle, could not win. Here the prejudice towards him of the main part of the party members, who remember his speeches against the Bolsheviks, and Stalin's control over the party apparatus played their role.

For the Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council and People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs, the only real path to power was the path of a military coup. Trotsky was still popular among the officers and rank and file of the Red Army. In his hands was control over the apparatus of the Red Army. A technically armed seizure of the power of Lenin's death was quite feasible. Many outsiders

We tempted Lev Davidovich with this tempting prospect. But Trotsky rejected the idea of a coup. How, then, would he differ from some Latin American dictator, or Mussolini, who had just carried out a successful "march on Rome" in 1922? Trotsky needed not just power in Russia, but power to carry out a certain idea - the world proletarian revolution. Russia was needed as a springboard, but mainly as an example for such a revolution. After the failure of the Polish campaign, Lev Davidovich did not believe in the export of the world revolution on the bayonets of the Red Army. But unlike Stalin, he continued to firmly believe in the utopia of the revolution itself until his last day.

If Trotsky, for example, had stayed in England in 1902, he could have become close to the local Laborites, would have made a successful party career and, you see, in the 1920s he would have become a minister of the Labor cabinet, and with time - maybe even prime minister. The scenario, of course, is fantastic, but not so improbable. After all, Trotsky at the beginning of the century had not yet stained himself with revolutionary terror, his hands were not up to the elbow in blood. For the usual career of a "bourgeois" politician, only one thing was required - to refuse

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from the idea of a world proletarian revolution. And Trotsky could well fit into the political establishment of both England and the United States. But he never, either before 1917 or after his expulsion from the USSR, even tried to do this.

Krupskaya felt that Trotsky could not prevail. And she was in no hurry to join the opposition camp, which was generally alien to her. However, in early 1925, shortly after Trotsky was removed from the post of head of the military department, Zinoviev and Kamenev finally realized that Stalin was slowly but surely reducing their role in making really important decisions. Bosom friends saw that their majority in relation to the General Secretary in the leading "troika" no longer means anything, since Stalin placed his people in the Central Committee. Zinoviev and Kamenev decided to unite with the disgraced Trotsky and give battle to Stalin and his supporters. The CTU party congress, which was held in Moscow from December 18 to December 31, 1925, was chosen as the site of the battle. Initially, the congress was planned to be held in Leningrad, where Zinoviev could rely on the local party organization devoted to him. However, the Stalinist majority of the Central Committee insisted on moving the congress to the capital under the pretext that otherwise the work of government bodies would be paralyzed. Krupskaya this time supported the so-called "new opposition" to Stalin. However, during the congress, almost no one spoke on the side of Zinoviev and Kamenev, except for the Leningrad delegation. After all, the overwhelming majority of delegates were appointed by the apparatus of the general secretary, and

even elections in the party have already turned into a fiction. Trotsky, seeing the hopelessness of the situation, did not make a speech at the congress. Krupskaya was among the speakers and was openly obstructed by the Stalinists.

Her speech is remarkable in many ways. Nadezhda Konstantinovna first declared: "In the old days, our party took shape in the struggle against Menshevism and

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Socialist-Revolutionaries, in disputes with them, the members of the Party developed the conviction that it was precisely the Bolshevik line that was the most correct line. Now, comrades, we live in different conditions ... Of course, in the fight against the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, we are accustomed to covering up our opponents, as they say, with obscenities, and, of course, we cannot allow party members to polemic among themselves in such tones.

These words made me remember an old episode when my future wife and I went one afternoon to eat a modest complex lunch at the Vityaz restaurant. Not far away, two young waitresses were sitting at a table discussing in figurative Russian terms the relative merits and demerits of their husbands. Another waitress, an elderly woman, reproachfully remarked to them: "Girls, why are you obscene to the whole hall!" It seems that Krupskaya, in exactly the same way and with the same chances of success, tried to exhort her fellow delegates: "Girls, that is, it's your fault, comrades, why are you obscenities to the whole hall, to your own party comrades ! It's one thing when we let swear words at all sorts of Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries! Here, as they say, God himself, i.e. (again guilty, misspoken) Lenin ordered! The thing is holy! But you can't swear at your own party members! Because the Bolshevik line as a whole is the only correct one, and those who deviate from it can always be corrected, debated, and maybe even improve on something.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna does not notice the depravity of her argument. Once it is recognized that "the Bolshevik line is the most correct line," the new conditions, which have successfully reduced the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries to the nail, do not fundamentally change anything. Once there is a general line of the Party, one can always find new apostate Mensheviks who do not adhere to it. And deal with them accordingly: first with obscenities, then into exile, and finally against the wall. And it is not clear why Krupskaya, Zinoviev, Kamenev and other oppositionists were offended that

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at the congress they were indeed almost cursed. The "new opposition" took the position of the former Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks and was inevitably bound to share their fate.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna ended her speech by opposing Lenin's views to the line followed by the majority of the congress: "Vladimir Ilyich said: Marx's teaching is invincible because it is correct. And our congress must take care to seek and find the correct line. This is his task. One cannot console oneself with the fact that the majority is always right. In the history of our party there have been congresses where the majority was wrong. Let us recall, for example, the Stockholm Congress (Noise. Voices: "This is a subtle allusion to thick circumstances.") The majority should not revel in the fact that they are the majority, but should dispassionately seek the right solution. If it is true... (Voice: "Lev Davidovich, you have new comrades-in-arms"), it will direct our Party onto a new path.

We need to work together to find the right path. The enormous significance of the congress lies precisely in the fact that this congress gives expression to collective thought... I think that cries about this or that being true Leninism are out of place here. In recent days, by the way, I have also reread the first chapter of Vladimir Ilyich's book *The State and Revolution*, written by him just after the July days (1917. - B.S.), when he himself was on the verge of death. There he wrote: "There have been cases in history when the teachings of great revolutionaries were distorted after their death. Harmless icons were made of them, but by honoring their names, they dulled the revolutionary edge of their doctrine. I think that this bitter quotation compels us not to cover one or another of our views with the moniker of Leninism, but to consider this or that question in essence. I think, comrades, what about the split, about the lack of confidence in the Central Committee, etc. d. out of the question. That's not what we're talking about right now. What we are talking about now is how we can set up a framework for a joint discussion of the

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clearly emerging again and again in the course of work, to establish a framework such that within this framework a comradely discussion of the issue is possible.

When Nadezhda Konstantinovna, while discussing the work of the Central Control Commission, took the floor for the second time, she was simply not allowed to speak, constantly interrupted by well-organized shouts from her seats. Because Krupskaya said completely seditious things, quite in the spirit of Lenin's testament and the bloc proposed by Ilyich with Trotsky: . This gives our Orgburo, our Secretariat, really immense power. I think that when the points of the Rules are to be discussed, it is necessary, with more care than has been done so far, to see how it is reasonable to limit these movements, these dismissals from work, which often make it impossible for the Party to express itself frankly and openly.. I appeal to the congress with a request to give it special thought. (Voice: "He thinks").

I would like the congress to think about how to do it in order to get the opportunity for the party to create intra-party democracy. In the end, Nadezhda Konstantinovna was no longer allowed to say a word calmly. He exploded: "The comrades from the Central Control Commission, from the presidium, know very well that for me ... this whole campaign was completely unexpected: Chairman, let me speak calmly, they are interrupting all the time ... find new forms of work for the Central Control Commission, such forms as would really ensure the unity of the Party.

The voices of Lenin's widow and other oppositionists have remained the body of one crying in the desert. With them, none of the Stalinist majority was going to conduct a "comradely discussion" and, even more so, to jointly seek the "correct line." All issues had already been resolved by Stalin and his associates, and those who disagreed had to be hounded and forced to capitulate. Their equal "comrades"

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no longer considered. Krupskaya very soon felt it herself.

Shortly after the congress, she told her colleague from the People's Commissariat of Education Alisa Ivanovna Radchenko: "I am constantly being persecuted along the party line, and how they are persecuting me. They cannot forgive me for my closeness to Ilyich and that I was aware of facts that were unfavorable for some comrades - now they take revenge on me for this and do not stand on ceremony with me and in every possible way emphasize their disrespect. They even reproach me for being of noble origin... They say that I am allegedly far from life, I don't understand the essence of disagreements, I distort facts, transcripts, etc." At the joint plenum of 1926, Ordzhonikidze addressed her quite boorishly: "What is it for (i.e., support for the demands of the opposition. - B.S.) You need, Nadezhda Konstantinovna, in order to frighten the entire party, so that the party loses respect for you... But the Party loves you not because you are a great man, but because you are a close friend of our great Lenin." This formula cannot be denied cynical accuracy.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna confessed to Radchenko: "Out of 300 people at the plenum of the Central Committee, only ten have the courage to greet me." These days, according to Trotsko, Krupskaya used to say: "If Volodya were alive, he would be in prison right now." Probably, at the same time, legends were born that Stalin threatened Krupskaya, in case of disobedience, to declare Ilyich's wife another woman - either Inessa Armand, or Lydia Fotieva. Of course, in reality there was no such conversation and could not be. It was too well known in the country and in the world who exactly was Lenin's wife. Rather, if Krupskaya did have to be repressed along with other oppositionists, then in official mythology Lenin would have turned into a bachelor altogether. In any case, the existence of Ilyich's wife would cease to be mentioned in memoirs and

biographies.

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As early as 1926, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev were all members of the Politburo, and it was only a matter of time before they were expelled from the party. Krupskaya managed to jump off the sinking ship of the opposition in time. On May 15, 1927, she wrote a letter to Zinoviev, where she criticized him for speaking a few days earlier at the House of Unions at the 15th anniversary of Pravda: "In my opinion, you are all wrong. You knew that speeches were broadcast on the radio, and therefore your speech was addressed not to the party, but to the country. The non-party working and peasant masses believe that the opposition is going against the main party and Soviet line. This shows that the criticism was overdone. It is one thing for self-criticism, and another for accusatory criticism, prosecutorial criticism from outside. - We must get rid of the situation that has arisen, and not worsen it ... Your speech, in my opinion, is a mistake. What else could you count on than a sharp scan? In order to influence the policy of the Party, one must first of all get rid of the period of opposition. You know how I have been looking at this business since the autumn: to arrange a permanent buzz - for the sake of a buzz and history - seems to me harmful. After your speech, which I can now judge from the transcript, I had a desire to state my point of view in the press. This desire intensified when I was told about the action of the opposition in the districts. This is not politics - booze. It is very difficult for me to write all this to you. You know that I personally treated you and continue to treat you as an old comrade, but I consider your tactics to be erroneous.

On May 19, she wrote a similar letter to Trotsky: "You know that since the autumn of last year I left the opposition. I told Grigory (Zinoviev. - B. S.) at that time that with such methods of work we were heading straight for another party and that I would not go for it. I was against organizing into a faction from the very beginning." The next day, a letter from Krupskaya appeared in Pravda:

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opposition. I came to the conclusion that with criticism the opposition, including myself, went too far, quantity turned into quality, comradely criticism turned into factional criticism. The broad mass of peasants and workers understood the action of the opposition as a step against the basic principles of the Communist Party and Soviet power. Of course, this view is fundamentally wrong. However, this fact speaks eloquently of the need for more restrained and comradely forms of polemic. I consider the party's self-criticism extremely important, but I think that this self-criticism should not turn into accusing each other of all mortal sins. We need a businesslike, sober

judgment of questions. Only such a discussion can guarantee the most correct solution of questions. The current situation confronts the Party with a number of very complex questions that require discussion, it requires a quick resolution of them. This is on the one hand. On the other hand, the moment we are living through requires maximum unity of action, intense work according to a jointly planned plan. Under these conditions, a factional approach to solving problems can only harm the cause.

In essence, it was a capitulation, and not a very honorable one at that. Behind the bureaucratic newspeak so beloved by Krupskaya, with its "self-criticism of the party", "the moment being lived through" and "intense work according to a jointly drawn up plan", hides complete subordination to the apparatus. Nadezhda Konstantinovna is trying to justify the surrender of her former positions by the complexity of the current situation, which dictates the complete unity of the party ranks. But one should not accuse Lenin's widow of some special cowardice. In the end, she is an old lonely woman, and in the end, all the leaders of various kinds of oppositions capitulated to Stalin - much stronger men: Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Rykov ... Trotsky, who did not surrender, was overtaken by death by hand in distant Mexico NKVD agent. Besides

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the party, the revolution and Lenin were for Krupskaya the meaning of life, and the masses already connected all this inextricably with the name of Stalin, the great successor of the cause of Ilyich. Nadezhda Konstantinovna was ready to give up her principles, if only she would be recognized as entitled to the memory of Leni, to a public story about what in the life of the leader was known only to her. And to a place in history - as the wife of the architect of the greatest, as the Bolsheviks believed, the revolution of all times and peoples.

However, even after the surrender, Nadezhda Konstantinovna did not have a sweet life. July 5, 1927 A.I. Radchenko wrote in her diary: "She (Krupskaya. - B.S.) met with N.L. Meshcheryakov to go to Ulyanovsk, to see how things are in political education in Ilyich's homeland. But one old comrade warned them that there were hundreds of black fights there, that they could shoot from around the corner. She answered tiredly: "Is it a pity, or what? I just have to finish my reminiscences about Ilyich, and then let whoever wants to eat me ... My nerves, like strings, ache, as if naked.

But gradually the disgrace from the Leninist widow was removed. In December 1927, at the 15th Party Congress, Krupskaya, who had previously been a member of the Central Control Commission, was elected to the Central Committee for the first time, and immediately a full member. She remained a member of the highest party body until her death.

According to the memoirs of an old acquaintance of Nadezhda Konstantinovna, Dora Abramovna Lazurkina, who worked

in the Leningrad Regional Committee together with S.M. Kirov, in December 1931 she received a letter from Krupskaya. She wrote: "I feel badly, both physically and in general. I beg you to come to me, we will celebrate the New Year, as we met him with Ilyich in Geneva, in 1905. With this letter, Lazurkina went to Kirov. Sergei Mironovich advised her to immediately go to Moscow: "It is imperative to go to Nadezhda Konstantinovna. I recently

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her affairs, and she looks very bad. She has a very heavy mood. We will issue a business trip, stay with Nadezhda Konstantinovna. Try to calm her down, restore her cheerfulness. A wonderful person, Nadezhda Konstantinovna.

Krupskaya was delighted with the arrival of Lazurkina. Dora Abramovna described the joint meeting of the New Year as follows: "We recalled the meeting of the New Year 1905 in Geneva, our young revolutionary years, Ilyich, we sang the songs that he loved. At three o'clock everyone left, Nadezhda Konstantinovna asked to stay with her. We lay on the same bed

they talked for the rest of the night, slept a little, and again continued to talk and talk. This went on for three days. Nadezhda Konstantinovna sadly shared with me about her fate after the KhSU Congress, about how she was cut off from the Central Committee, that she was alienated from everything that the party lives on, that they look askance at her. I tried to fulfill Sergei Mironovich's instructions, to cheer up Nadezhda Konstantinovna. I saw that she was under the impression of Vladimir Ilyich's letter about Stalin, and tried to convince her that Stal's role was not great. If it were not for him, we would have been a prisoner of the opposition and currents for a long time.

Lazurkina persuaded Nadezhda Konstantinovna to write a letter to the Central Committee with a request to include her in "active party life." Krupskaya did not write such a letter. But on November 16, 1932, a personal letter from Nadezhda Konstantinovna to Stalin appeared in Pravda in connection with the sudden death of his second wife, Nadezhda Alliluyeva: "These days, somehow, everything is thinking about you and I want to shake your hand. It's hard to lose a loved one. I recall a couple of conversations with you in Ilyich's office during his illness. They gave me courage." Krupskaya did not know that Alliluyeva shot herself, suspecting her husband of adultery. In her letter, Lenin's widow made it clear that she had forgotten the December 1922 quarrel.

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I note that Krupskaya's anguish was now no longer connected with the campaign of persecution and isolation that was carried out in the second

Roy half of the 20s. No, she was no longer persona non grata. She was given external signs of attention. For example, in the same 1931, when Krupskaya wrote a desperate letter to Lazurkina, Nadezhda Konstantinovna was elected an honorary academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences, two years earlier she had been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labor. In 1933, they were awarded the highest award of the country - the Order of Lenin. The Order of Lenin on the chest of his widow was symbolic. An excellent subject for portraits, photographs and posters. But loneliness continued to torment Nadia waiting for Konstantinovna. There were no children. I had to break with my former friends from the opposition. She did not even try to arrange her personal life again. She understood that the public mythologized consciousness cannot accept the widow of a deified leader as the wife of some other mortal.

And further. Nadezhda Konstantinovna really wanted to work, to find in her work forgetfulness from the melancholy that sometimes approached. Until 1930, she headed the Glavpolitprosvet, in 1929 she was appointed deputy people's commissar of education. There she supervised out-of-school education, in particular, a pioneer organization, and was engaged in organizing libraries. In her autobiography *My Life*, written primarily for the pioneers, Krupskaya confessed: "I always regretted that I didn't have children. Now I don't regret it. Now I have a lot of them - members of the Komsomol and young pioneers. They are all Leninists, they want to be Leninists." In essence, from these lines breathes hidden sadness. An elderly, lonely woman tries to find consolation for herself in the children whom God did not give her and Ilyich. But tens and hundreds of thousands of children all over the country writing letters to "grandmother Krupskaya" are not at all the same as the children in your own family, whom you bring up, take care of, with whom you live alone.

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them and the same joys and worries. On the library front, back in 1923, when Nadezhda Konstantinovna was in charge of the Glavpolitprosvet, she signed a circular ordering that the works of Plato and Kant, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, Vladimir Solovyov and Leo Tolstoy, Leskov and many other well-known, but ideologically "harmful" authors. In the religious literature section, it was ordered to leave only books with anti-religious content.

And Nadezhda Konstantinovna wanted more in her work. As we shall see later, she may have been willing to take the post of people's commissar of education. But the main thing for Krupskaya was nevertheless the memories of Lenin, books and articles dedicated to the leader, a literary monument to the great spouse, and at the same time to herself. Although she wrote to one of the reviewers of her book: "About myself, as I think, I should have written in my 'reminiscences' as little as possible. This is the usual shortcoming of all memoirs, that people write in them most of all about themselves, I wanted to write not about myself, but about Ilyich, I wanted

show the environment in which he had to live and work. And what should I write about myself? I loved Ilyich dearly; what worried him worried me; I tried to the best of my ability and ability to help him in his work, but I am an ordinary worker. What to write here?

Nadezhda Konstantinovna understood that excessive attention in her memories of her husband to her own person would only cause irritation in readers. Their roles in the Russian revolution are too incomparable. It is much more important that these are her memoirs, her Ilyich, such as only

that she knew him.

But there was one high-ranking reader who did not really like Krupskaya's memoirs. This reader is Stalin. Indeed, from the memoirs of Nadezhda Konstantinovna it was clear that Iosif Vissarionovich was by no means the closest person to Lenin, that the disgraced Zinoviev and

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Kamenev were not such bad people and, in any case, they really were among Lenin's few friends. It turned out that many events in the history of the party did not take place the way their Stalinist close associates and the all-powerful general secretary himself spoke of them. And so, at the beginning of May 1934, a rather critical review of Krupskaya's memoirs by Petr Nikolaevich Pospelov appeared in Pravda. This man enjoyed the patronage of Stalin. Six years later, Pospelov became the editor-in-chief of Pravda. But even then, in 1934, it was well known that his reviews often reflected the Boss's point of view. A.I. On May 9, Radchenko wrote in her diary: "Something happened again. How else to explain the strange review in Pravda on her

"Memories"? - "Personal memories of Lenin nick

which prices do not have. Krupskaya, in fact, never stood on the Leninist, and perhaps only on the Plekhanovist positions. This, of course, was inspired by someone from above. The main sin of the book, in the opinion of the reviewer, was that "the meetings between Lenin and Stalin are listed very briefly." Here Pospelov spoke the absolute truth, but there was no way to correct this sin. Do not invent in addition the meetings between Ilyich and Koba that never took place. Is it possible to follow the path that, under pressure from editors, Marshal Zhukov already took in his memoirs in the 60s. Georgy Konstantinovich was forced to write that he was once going for advice: with Colonel Brezhnev, but, unfortunately, he was not on the spot: he went to Malaya Zemlya. You just imagine how Vladimir Ilyich asks Nadezhda Konstantinovna: "Where is Koba? I have a very urgent question, only he can help." Fortunately, Lenin's widow, unlike some authors of films and plays about Stalin, did not stoop to such cult myths.

Just in May 1934, Krupskaya underwent a complex operation for Graves' disease. As admitted

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Nadezhda Konstantinovna in one of the letters, she was literally staggering from weakness, and then such an unpleasant surprise. After all, a negative review in the central party organ may well lead to organizational conclusions, up to the removal of the book from sale. However, Nadezhda Konstantinovna was not afraid, and reacted very sharply to the publication of Pospel's opus. On May 25, 1934, Radchenko wrote down her words: "Today I submitted my next article to Izvestia, and not to Pravda. I won't give them anything more, since they act like a pig in hosting this review. The main thing is that if its goal was to discredit my Memoirs, then they achieved the opposite: all these days they only call me from the Comintern, asking me to allow the book to be translated into various foreign languages. And not only books, but also my various articles. And already with mischief: "I will still write like that, and even cleaner."

And permission to transfer was given. Of course, without the sanction of the Central Committee, Krupskaya could not do this. Obviously, Stalin realized that Krupskaya's memoirs were still indispensable in the creation of the Leninist myth. After all, her life was primarily a concern for Lenin. Nadezhda Konstantinovna did not want to write about anything else, and could not. And not a single memoirist reported so many details about the leader's life. Yes, and somehow it was inconvenient to ban the book of Lenin's widow. In the end, suitable episodes can always be replicated in other publications, and inconvenient ones can simply be ignored.

Krupskaya's position improved about a year later, when Nadezhda Konstantinovna began publishing again in Pravda. On August 23, 1935, Stalin handed over to the then chairman of the Party Control Commission and the future "steel people's commissar" Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov, Nadezhda Konstantinovna's proposals on organizing school education for adults who had not received

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proper education, and the publication in Pravda of her article on this subject, as well as the establishment of the Lenin Museum in Moscow. In the accompanying note, the Secretary General emphasized: "T. Krupskaya is right on all three issues. I am sending this letter specifically to you because your words usually do not differ from your deeds and there is a hope that you will fulfill my request, call Comrade Krupskaya, talk to her, etc. Yezhov fulfilled the order, for which he was praised by the leader, who personally made comments and additions to the project.

Lenin Museum.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna did not have a very warm relationship with the people's commissar of education, Andrei Sergeevich Bubnov. On June 5, 1937, Krupskaya complained in a letter to Stalin: "The power of the People's Commissar in the People's Commissariat is unlimited. And not every people's commissar uses this power in the right way... But what must not be allowed is the transformation of the party into a simple instrument for carrying out the will of the people's commissar. It is impossible that the people's commissar threatens not only to fire him from his job, but also to expel him from the party. This immeasurably strengthens the bureaucracy, sycophancy, already flourishing in the people's commissariat. It is impossible for the secretary of the party committee to be simply an executor of the will of the people's commissar. It turns out the atmosphere of inciting each other, gossip, reading in the hearts, it turns out a hopeless squabble. I remember how Ilyich always struggled with the atmosphere of squabbling. It was in Siberia, in London.

On the instructions of the people's commissar, the party committee also serves the press. People write under pseudonyms, irresponsibly slander workers. You can not do it this way. All of this has a detrimental effect...

Another question is that the struggle against bureaucracy has not been sufficiently organized, not a verbal struggle, but a business one... The restructuring of work is proceeding slowly, often very superficially, more people are talking.

On October 13, 1937, Bubnov was removed from his post, and soon arrested and shot as an "enemy of the people." I do not exclude

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It is believed that Krupskaya's letter served as a pretext for Andrei Sergeevich's dismissal, but one should not think that on the part of Nadezhda Konstantinovna it was a hidden denunciation of an unloved boss with far-reaching political calculations. Of course, Krupskaya wanted Bubnov to leave the People's Commissariat, perhaps even hoped to take his place, but she could not foresee such a tragic outcome. Moreover, in principle, Bubnov was no different from most people's commissars, feeling himself in the People's Commissariat for Education as a king, a god and a military leader. He was executed not for bureaucracy and encouragement of sycophancy, but as part of the "changing of the guard" carried out by Stalin, when there was a systematic shooting of the old Bolsheviks, who were replaced in the authorities by younger nominees personally devoted to the general secretary. Stalin did not make Krupskaya the People's Commissar of Education - he took into account the oppositional past, advanced age and poor health.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna wrote to Stalin again on March 7, 1938 in connection with the introduction of the teaching of the Russian language in all schools of the Soviet republics: "We are introducing compulsory teaching of the Russian language throughout the USSR. This is good. This will serve to deepen the friendship of peoples. But I am very worried about how we will conduct this training. It seems to me sometimes that it starts showing

give a little horns to great-power chauvinism." Krupskaya did not worry in vain. Very soon, Great Russian chauvinism showed its horns, and not just anywhere, but in the Politburo.

On August 5, 1938, the highest party body adopted a formidable resolution "On the novel by Marietta Shaginyan "Bills of History", part 1 - "The Ulyanov Family"", which, in particular, said: "To condemn the behavior of Krupskaya, who, having received the manuscript of Shaginyan's novel, not only did not prevent the appearance of the novel in the light, but, on the contrary, encouraged Shaginyan in every possible way, gave positive reviews about the manuscript and advised Shaginyan on various aspects of the life of the Ulyanovs and thereby carried full

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responsibility for this book. To consider Krupskaya's behavior all the more unacceptable and tactless, since Comrade Krupskaya did it without the knowledge and consent of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, behind the back of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, thereby turning the all-Party business of compiling works about Lenin into a private and family affair and acting as a monopolist and interpreter of the public and private life and work of Lenin and his family, to which the Central Committee never gave the right to anyone.

What caused the wrath of the party synclite of the seemingly orthodox-Marxist novel about the childhood and youth of Vladimir Ulyanov, where the main character is drawn quite simply? The Politburo did not elaborate on Shaginyan's sins. But four days later, the Presidium of the Board of the Writers' Union met to sort things out with the offending author. Colleagues reprimanded Marietta Sergeevna for the distorted idea of Lenin's "national face", for the fact that the novel does not emphasize the circumstance that the leader of the Bolsheviks is "the genius of mankind put forward by the Russian people."

It was not so much the words of the writer that the paternal grandmother of Lenin came from a "baptized Kalmyk family" that provoked the anger of Stalin and his colleagues in the Politburo, but rather the assertion of the author of the "Ticket to History" that Ilyich's maternal grandfather was "Ukrainian Alexander Dmitrievich Blank. If you look at it, then this statement, indeed, sounds mockingly. After all, the father of Vladimir Ilyich's mother for the first half of his life, before the transition from Judaism to Orthodoxy, was called not Alexander Dmitrievich, but Srul (Israel) Moishevich. The Ukrainian Srul Moishevich Blank is, of course, a strong word. Moreover, Lenin's grandfather, who died in the year of the birth of his world-famous grandson, certainly did not know a word of Ukrainian and never considered himself a Ukrainian.

But in 1938, it was no longer possible to speak openly about the Jewish origin of the leader of the Bolsheviks. Subcher

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to nod at Lenin's "foreign" roots became not only untimely, but even dangerous. Although neither Shaginyan nor Krupskaya had any malicious intent. It is not known which of them came up with the fatal idea of declaring Blank a Ukrainian. But the logic of such a decision can be understood.

It would seem easier to declare Blank a German. The surname seems to be German. Yes, and there were many Germans in Ukraine, where Alexander Dmitrievich was born and lived, until the Second World War. However, even so, Roma Shaginyan said that German and Swedish blood flowed in the veins of Vladimir Ilyich's grandmother. The origin of the founder of the Soviet state would then look too Germanic. During the period of hostile relations with Hitler's Germany, this was completely inopportune. And so the statement about the Ukrainian grandfather was born. The writer did not raise her hand to call Blank Russian: the surname sounded too un-Russian. Meanwhile, the Orthodox Blank, most likely, considered himself Russian. But neither Krupskaya nor Shaginyan believed in God, and in this case Orthodoxy was not identified with Russian nationality. And the result was a scandal that ended with a closed Politburo resolution.

The most offensive and humiliating thing for Nadezhda Konstantinovna in this decision was that from now on the memory of her husband, as it were, did not belong to her. Now only the Central Committee, or more simply, Stalin, could give or not give anyone permission to write or talk about Lenin, in memoirs or works of art. The memoirs of the leader's wife could no longer be considered her private affair.

During the period of mass repressions against the communists in 1937-1938, Krupskaya more than once tried to alleviate the fate of a number of her party comrades. Thus, she succeeded in getting the worker Nikolai Alekseevich Emelyanov, who sheltered Lenin in Razliv, to be released by exile in the camp, and in obtaining the release of some members of his family.

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However, when Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and other opposition leaders well known to Nadezhda Konstantinovna were sentenced to death at the falsified Moscow trials, she remained silent. Krupskaya did not believe in the guilt of Lenin's associates, but she understood that a public speech or even a personal letter to Stalin in their defense bordered on suicide.

In addition to recollections of Ilyich, Nadezhda Konstantinovna in the 1920s and 1930s published a mass of articles and pamphlets on pedagogy. Today, these publications at best cause a smile, sometimes a bitter one. For example, in 1929, in the sadly memorable year of the "great turning point", Krupskaya called on "communist teachers"

"to lay in the pioneers the foundations of a materialistic world view", "to teach them to clearly understand where social development is heading", "to develop from the guys, not in words, but in deeds, fighters and builders".

Nadezhda Konstantinovna believed that humanity was developing along the path to communism, that religion was the opiate of the people, that it was necessary to fight for the triumph of the revolution, and to build only socialism and communism. Krupskaya urged to protect the guys from "puffery". Well, which of the readers will guess what it is? For those who have not guessed, I will decipher: pioneer swagger, by analogy with the more common swagger in its time.

According to Nadezhda Konstantinovna, it was still necessary to protect oneself from "a thoroughly bourgeois desire to advance at the expense of others." Meanwhile, this desire lay in the nature of man at all times and under any social system, including the socialist one. And in post-communist Russia, despite all the efforts of Krupskaya and her followers, it blossomed into a lush but ugly flower.

In 1932, in the article "Bourgeois manners out of the Soviet school," Nadezhda Konstantinovna tried to

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shine young pioneers and pioneers about International Women's Day and gender relations. Pioneers should take care that "the mother could go to an educational program or to a meeting" (a meeting, of course, is more important than an extra hour or two to be with her own children!).

As for "relationships between boys and girls," Krupskaya explained it this way: "In the old days—under serfdom, and then under capitalism—the husband was the head of the family. In the church, the priests called: "Let the wife be afraid of her husband!" The wife was a slave, a servant of her husband, without him she did not dare to take a step. In a particularly rude form, this power was manifested in the countryside, where there was very great darkness and lawlessness. There, it often happened that a husband beat his wife, trampled underfoot, kicked her out of the house, forced her to work for him. A drunk will come and shout: "Maria, take off your boots!" "Now, Ivan Petrovich," the slave-wife replies meekly, begins to drag boots from the drunk, and he tries to hit her in the face with his boot. The landlords, the local authorities flogged the peasants, and they tore their hearts out at the women. If the wife wanted to go to the city, go to work, she could not do it without her husband's permission. According to the law, the husband was the owner of his wife, she was his thing. In a number of nationalities, even to this day, the husband looks at his wife as if she were a thing, hides it from prying eyes, locks it at home, and if he wants to, he will sell her to a friend, sell her to a rich buyer. Such morals are infectious. Even among people who finished high school, wife-beating was common."

Here Nadezhda Konstantinovna relied more on fantasy than on personal experience. Neither in Shushenskoye nor in other Russian villages did she seem to have ever witnessed the beating of wives by drunken husbands, especially with a boot in the face, and even with the boot that the unfortunate wife has to pull off the feet of her master slave owner. In any case, in "Memoirs of Lenin" Krupskaya does not write anything about such excesses. But here, intimidating

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pioneers with a standard set of horrors of the pre-revolutionary past, she goes on to personal impressions: "I remember that in 1905 Comrade Lenin and I rented a room in a large house. And nearby lived - also rented a room - some kind of officer; so he dragged his wife by the hair down the corridor every evening. I must say right away that both before the revolution and after it, the proletarians in terms of beating and pulling wives by the hair gave odds to any officer. It is enough to re-read the stories and feuilletons of Mikhail Bulgakov, who, by the way, worked in the early 1920s under the leadership of Nadezhda Konstantinovna in the Literary Department (Lito) of the Glavpolitprosvet and, with her help, received a room in the "bad apartment" on Bolshaya Sadovaya, so famous from the novel "Master and Margarita".

Krupskaya had already forgotten that her father had once been an officer. The word "officer" is now always meant with the definition "royal" or "white". This means that the enemy is worthy of being only a negative example. True, Nadezhda Konstantinovna makes a reservation: "Among the bourgeoisie, among people for subsistence, female slavery took other forms. The husband did not beat his wife, did not force him to work for him - that's why there were cooks and maids in the house - but he looked at his wife as if he were his toy, gave her beautiful dresses, various rattles, brooches, rings, combs, caressed her like a kitten or indoor dog. The view of a woman as an object of entertainment is widespread in bourgeois countries. In most bourgeois countries, a woman is either completely deprived of voting rights, or these rights are limited. In our country, the country of the Soviets, women are equal in all rights with men.

Because a woman was looked upon as a slave or as a toy, it was believed that she did not need to know as much as a man. In most bourgeois countries there are separate schools for boys and girls. There are fewer curricula in women's schools, they lean more on religion, music, needlework. Before the revolution of 1917, we also had

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so: there were separate gymnasiums for boys and separate for girls. After the October Revolution, all our schools became schools of joint education: girls teach

on a par with the boys.

Communists look at woman as a comrade, they fight against the old, vile, bourgeois attitude towards women. The communist who treats women in the old way, in the capitalist way, is bad.

By law, a woman is equal with a man, but in life, in everyday life, there are still many old habits. Look around you, look closely - you will see many old views. If you notice such cases, discuss them with your comrades and think about how you can deal with this.

Sometimes the bourgeoisie sets up schools for their children with joint upbringing. But these schools do not bring up real companionship between boys and girls. Girls and boys are kept separately. The girls go to recess especially, they talk about which of the boys is "more interesting", they are afraid of the boys, and at the same time they try to dress, dress up, tint their lips so that the boys like it! In a word, they behave like real little bourgeois. And the boys do not lag behind them, tease the girls, write stupid notes to them, try to turn the girls around in a more aggressive way, and at the same time begin to look after them - in a word, they behave like real little bourgeois. The teachers are silent. in the capitalist countries

such things are considered quite natural.

And we have? Unfortunately, not only in our family, not only on the street, but also in the school of bourgeois manners, the guys have as much as you want. Don't we have in our school that the girls sit in the classroom separately from the boys, and the boy considers it a shame for himself to sit with the girl? How are you at school? And if it doesn't happen that the boys tease the girls, bring the girls to tears, and then contemptuously say: "Well, the girl will give a roar now!"

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The bourgeois believed that a woman can be humiliated and insulted in every possible way, but she should not even show that she is offended, hard. So our boys another time insult the girls in a bourgeois way, and then they are indignant that the girls are offended. Do you have such spuchy at school? Or it would be like this: the boy chooses a "lady of the heart" for himself, writes notes to her, tries to please her. She will quarrel with another girl, and the boy will persuade his comrades to beat the girl who quarreled with his "lady of the heart." Aren't boys beating girls? Aren't boys and girls avidly reading vulgar bourgeois literature! (As for literature, Krupskaya, let's say, took care of herself, removing in the 1920s from mass libraries not only such "vulgar" authors as Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, but also the works of Alexandre Dumas père, whose "Count of Monte Cristo" she herself translated on behalf of the same Leo Tolstoy.

S.) And how do the pioneers look at all this? How do they deal with all this? How do they tolerate this bourgeoisie?

When the guys join the pioneers, they make a solemn promise to fight for the cause of Lenin, for the cause of the working class. All his life Lenin fought against the vile bourgeois attitude towards women, fought for her equality, for her emancipation. He noted with joy the participation of women in the revolutionary struggle, social work, in the work of the Soviets. He demanded that women, even the darkest, most backward, be drawn as widely as possible into the construction of socialism. The young Leninists, the pioneers, not only cannot inculcate bourgeois morals in schools, they must fight them in every possible way, fight the schoolchildren who do this. Young Leninists - pioneers - should also wean themselves from stupid habits, fit in to study, to social work.

If today's boys and girls read these lines, then I have no doubt they will prefer to study in a "capitalist" rather than a "socialist" school. For

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Krupskaya, any school in a "bourgeois" country is bad—be it separate schools for boys and girls or mixed schools. And in schools for girls, the students, scary to say, are leaning more and more on music, needlework and, oh horror, religion!

I wonder what Krupskaya's music did not like? Her music, because Ilyich loved. Maybe the fact that Nadezhda Konstantinovna, unlike Inessa Armand, was deprived of musical abilities by God played a role? Nadezhda Konstantinovna considers the innocent coquetry and shyness of boys, characteristic of girls all over the world, covered up by deliberate rudeness towards girls, as a class phenomenon, a "bourgeois relic", which must be eliminated, with which it is necessary to fight.

In general, the word "fight" is one of Ilyich's widow's favorite words. A Soviet person from a very young age must fight for something and against someone. For bread, coal, steel, oil, for life itself, finally, to fight against devastation, thaw, imperialists, bourgeois, landowners, kulaks, sub-kulakists, accomplices, etc. For the triumph of socialism and communism required overcoming, remaking nature itself person. And Krupskaya, as an ideal, saw a blissful picture - all the boys and girls, at the wave of the hand of communist teachers, sit down in pairs at their desks in pairs: a boy and a girl. And during breaks, the clerks walk along the corridor in the same heterosexual couples: a boy arm in arm with a girl. But, God forbid, the girl will begin to be "interested" in the boy, or the boy, on the contrary, will begin to show signs of increased attention to his "lady of the heart." Stop immediately, tell where to go! You only need to think about studying and fighting! I'm afraid in such

school students would die of boredom.

When Nadezhda Konstantinovna speaks of "women's slavery" among the bourgeoisie, she seems to rely on the oral stories and articles of her friend and rival Inessa

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Armand. Much here is consonant with the thoughts that she expressed in a letter to her eldest daughter about Tolstoy. And after all, it was Inessa Fedorovna who was married to a manufacturer, had at her disposal any bracelets, brooches, rings and other "rattles". However, it is difficult to assume that Alexander Evgenievich, and then his brother Vladimir, would have seen Inessa as a "thing". Here Krupskaya had to fantasize. And what inspired such fantasizing, perhaps, was subconscious envy and jealousy for a rival: she lived in luxury, she never knew poverty, and she managed to win Ilyich's love.

But Nadezhda Konstantinovna herself was hardly able to win the souls of young Leninists with her cloth, bureaucratic language. When you imagine a pioneer obediently repeating: "The view of a woman as an object of entertainment is widespread in bourgeois countries," it becomes so terrible. Or: "The landlords, the local authorities flogged the peasants, and they tore their hearts out at the women." Children, of course, didn't think about it, but an adult will think about it, and take it dumbfounded. How did the concrete, animated landlords and the abstract, inanimate authorities manage to flog the peasants together?

In one of her subsequent articles, Krupskaya generally called on the pioneers to "strengthen the comradely bond between boys and girls." When one reads what she has written, one gets the strong impression that Nadya in the gymnasium was a perfect "blue stocking" and that Ilyich was her first and last love. However, perhaps the general Marxist and Soviet sanctimonious style, when the questions of sex and love were bashfully relegated to the background, so as not to distract the masses from the class struggle, had an effect here?

Krupskaya also taught the guys to be vigilant, urged them not to believe the rumors that the enemies were spreading. In 1932, in the article "Let's learn to work in a real, Leninist way," she convinced: "Now those who lived well under the tsarist regime,

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who want the power of the landowners and capitalists to return, in order to tighten their grip on the workers and toiling masses of the peasantry and collective farmers, are trying in every possible way to harm social construction, are taking advantage of the darkness, which is still plentiful in the countryside, to spread all sorts of evil and harmful rumors, to set up dark people against the authorities.

But in order to fight them, we must ourselves understand everything very well.”

This was written during the period of forced collectivization, mass deportations of “kulaks and subkulakists”, famine in the Soviet countryside. In fact, Krupskaya's call sounded mocking. In order not to believe “evil and hostile rumors”, it was necessary not to know much, but not to know much. Soviet propaganda took care of this ignorance, hiding the ugly truth about the famine and repressions from the country and the world. The newly minted collective farmers, one must think, recalled life under the tsar with nostalgic tears as almost a wonderful time: then they had to go hungry, but still not as capital as under the Soviets. Yes, and in terms of the number of those shot and exiled, Nikolai II, nicknamed the Bloody by the revolutionaries, and Stolypin with Lenin and Stalin could not compete.

The end of Krupskaya, like Armand, like Lenin, came suddenly. Nadezhda Konstantinovna suffered from Graves' disease, her heart was naughty, there were a lot of other minor and not very minor ailments, but in those February days of 1939, when she was preparing to celebrate her 70th birthday, nothing foreshadowed trouble. Here is what Vera Rudolfovna Menzhinskaya, the sister of the late head of the OGPU, recalled: “On February 23, Nadezhda Konstantinovna recalled in the Soviet People's Commissar, she defended kindergartens and orphanages so close to her heart, so dear to her. She was tired, but exhilarated by the fact that she had succeeded in achieving the desired result. After the Council of People's Commissars, Nadezhda Konstantinovna went to rest in Arkhangelsk ... There, unexpectedly for

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Nadezhda Konstantinovna came to congratulate her old friends, comrades in party work. Memories begin, everyone speaks... Nadezhda Konstantinovna speaks herself, supplementing certain reminiscences. At eight o'clock in the evening, she goes to her room, feeling unwell, but without telling any of those present about it, so as not to disturb the general joyful mood.

Nina Isaakovna Strievskaya, one of Krupskaya's old friends, also left a story about this friendly dinner, which took place on the eve of her birthday: “It is always hard for me to remember this evening. It started so well, so elated, and ended so tragically. Nadezhda Konstantinovna was very lively, she joked, and sang with everyone the favorite songs of her revolutionary youth. She recalled the past years with Ilyich in Shushenskoye (for sure this was the happiest period of her life. - B.S.), how Siberian dumplings helped them out on the way from exile. Someone suggested building them. Together they began to cook them, ate with appetite. Not long after, Nadezhda Konstantinovna went to her room. Soon she began to experience severe abdominal pain. Did the doctors come and take her to the Kremlin hospital.” On February 26, Pravda published a congratulation to Krupskaya

from the Central Committee in connection with the 70th anniversary of his birth. At that moment, upstairs already knew about her hopeless condition. On February 28, the newspapers published "Report on the illness of Comrade. Krupskaya N.K.", which said: "The disease developed rapidly and from the very beginning was accompanied by a sharp decline in cardiac activity and loss of consciousness. In this regard, the opportunity to help the patient in an operative way has disappeared. The day before, at 6:15 a.m. on February 27, 1939, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya "died with symptoms of cardiac paralysis." In an obituary on behalf of the Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, it was reported: "The death of Comrade. Krupskaya, who devoted her whole life to the cause of communism, is a great loss for the party and the working people of the USSR." For two days of farewell, February 28 and March 1, in the Hall of Columns past the coffin

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half a million people passed with Krupskaya's body. The urn with her ashes was carried to the Kremlin wall by Stalin and Molotov.

What kind of illness suddenly struck Nadezhda Konstantinovna? The first to arrive at Krupskaya was the doctor M.B. Kogan suggested poisoning and recommended putting a heating pad with hot water on his stomach. The symptoms that the patient had - acute pain in the abdomen and vomiting, could indicate both food poisoning and appendicitis. In the first case, a heating pad on the stomach facilitates the position of the patient, but in the second it aggravates, because it accelerates the onset of peritonitis - inflammation of the peritoneum.

Unfortunately for Krupskaya, the doctor was wrong: Nadezhda Konstantinovna had appendicitis, which quickly turned into peritonitis. Only emergency surgery could save her. However, given the weak heart and the general condition of the patient, there was little chance of a successful outcome. Here, the general fear of Soviet doctors before the responsibility for the lives of high-ranking patients had an effect. In the time of Stalin, they could literally pay with their heads for the death of such patients. Just now, in March 1938, the process of the "right-wing Trotskyist bloc" took place, at which three of the Kremlin doctors - Pletnev, Levin and Kazakov - were falsely accused of poisoning and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The doctors understood that if Krupskaya died on the operating table, her death could easily be blamed on the surgeon who performed the operation. Another thing, if you leave everything as it is. The patient will surely die without an operation, but there will be no specific culprits - a serious illness, it was impossible to save. And the operation was refused "due to difficulties in cardiac activity", although only it gave, albeit an illusory, but the only chance for salvation.

Before falling into an unconscious state on the evening of February 26, Nadezhda Konstantinovna uttered her last words addressed to V.S. Drizo: "What in the world is going on?" Vera Solomonovna managed to tell her about the greetings

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stvie of the Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, other congratulations. Krupskaya closed her eyes wearily and did not open them again.

During the Khrushchev thaw, rumors spread that Lenin's widow had been poisoned. They also named the reason: she allegedly was going to speak sharply against the lawlessness that was going on in the country at the upcoming 18th party congress in March 1939. They talked about a cake supposedly sent to Krupskaya by Stalin and containing poison. Both versions, both about the method and the motive of poisoning, do not stand up to criticism upon closer examination. None of the participants in the fatal party, and there were several dozen of them, remembered any cake. There were dumplings that were washed down with kissel. Everything is one and the same, and Krupskaya did not say anything that others did not. Most likely, either the dumplings were not cooked enough (after all, the table was arranged in haste), or, to the misfortune of Nadezhda Konstantinovna, she came across a small bone fragment in one of the dumplings, which caused a resurrection.

burning in the intestines.

As for the motive for the murder of Krupskaya, it seems absolutely fantastic. If Nadezhda Konstantinovna wanted to speak out against the repressions, why did she have to wait until 1939? Why didn't she speak earlier, say, in defense of Zinoviev, who was close to her? Yes, and Nadezhda Konstantinovna could not help but understand that an open speech against repressions, a direct accusation of Sgalin personally for lawlessness meant certain death or, at best, imprisonment in a lunatic asylum, as happened in his time with the former member of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission Aron Aleksandrovich Solts .

The general words about the "excesses" of the NKVD organs could not frighten anyone and fit perfectly into the next change in the party's policy in connection with the recent dismissal of Yezhov. And what kind of threat could a seventy-year old woman pose for Stalin, who had no longer played any political role, but even during her lifetime became part of Lenin's myth?

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I note that there is a popular belief: a birthday cannot be celebrated before a calendar date, this can bring misfortune. Neither Krupskaya nor the other old Bolsheviks who came to congratulate her either believed in God or were simply superstitious people. Who knows whether the tragic incident with Nadezhda Konstantinovna has shaken their materialistic convictions?

After death, all three members of the famous "red triangle" found eternal rest in the same place. Lenin is in the Mausoleum on Red Square, Armand is nearby,

in the grave near the Kremlin wall, and Krupskaya - in this very wall. All three met again, and now forever. Their images in our memory are inextricably linked with each other. We talk about Krupskaya, and immediately we remember Lenin and Ines su Armand. We talk about Inessa, and immediately Krupskaya and Lenin come to mind.

Now that my story has come to an end, I would like to reflect on the question of which of the two women closest to Lenin was love more beneficial? To answer this question, it is necessary to try once again to assess the personalities of Armand and Krupskaya and imagine what would have become of them if they had not met Ilyich.

For Nadezhda Konstantinovna, marriage to the leader of the Bolsheviks, no doubt, became a lucky ticket. Due to the fact that after the October Revolution Lenin became the head of the Russian state, Krupskaya received, if not worldwide, then at least all-Russian fame, she held high government posts, and was a member of the Central Committee of the party. For the sake of the position of the "first lady" of the Soviet state, for the sake of belonging to the great leader and the myth that was developing around him, one could put up with the husband's felt indifference to her as a woman, be satisfied with the position of "comrade at work".

Krupskaya was not noted for any special talents, except for the revolution, she did not know how to do anything, she could not even properly manage the household. Only revolution

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The work gave her a chance to take not the last place in life, to somehow fulfill herself. After all, Nadezhda Konstantinovna almost did not engage in pedagogical activity apart from the revolutionary one. Even when she was a teacher in a working school, she thought more about organizing a Marxist circle among her students.

But if Krupskaya had not become Lenin's wife, she would have remained a middle-level party functionary. After 1917, she would have taken some secondary position in one of the many city committees and regional committees or in the same People's Commissariat of Education. And it is not known, by the way, she could still arrange a personal life. Perhaps, even with this version of fate, our heroine safely passed the 37th year, or maybe, without the protection of the Leninist name, she would have perished in the Gulag. Who knows... But one thing is certain: the name of Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya would have been mentioned only in special studies devoted to the history of the Bolshevik Party in the pre-revolutionary period. And her biography would hardly have been written.

Another thing is Inessa Armand. She had the makings of a good pianist, a good literary style. If Inessa had developed these talents, she could well have become a famous pianist or writer. In the archive, by the way-

You can say that the unfinished play "Denikin's Men" has been preserved. True, this is nothing more than a revolutionary agitation.

Inessa was characterized by reflection, doubts about whether all revolutionaries are morally right. And, if it were not for such a powerful influence of Lenin's personality, it is quite possible to imagine a different version of Armand's fate. Inessa finally becomes disillusioned with the revolution and the Bolsheviks, returns to her native France, turns to the world of literature and art, creates imperishable masterpieces, finds her happiness with some artist or writer, lives a long time ... And, perhaps, , we would know Inessa Fedorovna not as Lenin's mistress, but as

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an outstanding figure of French or Russian culture of the 20th century?

And Ilyich himself, did he experience any influence from the women he loved. For the most part, I'm afraid not. Lenin could be gentle in letters to Inessa, take care of the health of Krupskaya, as well as of his other party comrades, but never, under the influence of feelings, did not deviate from the once chosen path, did not refuse new victims, did not pardon those whom he considered necessary. destroy live. Lenin's whole life was subordinated to the revolution. Love in this not very long life occupied

done place.

Not one of the women close to Lenin was able to change him. Probably, there was simply no woman in the world capable of this feat.

Only once, when Inessa died, did Ilyich for a moment realize what he had lost, that the whole world revolution, perhaps, was not worth that great, irrevocable love. But then he seemed to have recovered, returned to business, gave threatening telegrams, edited the 58th "execution" article of the Criminal Code ... Until a fatal illness struck him. Maybe one of her reasons was her unspoken sadness for Inessa? Maybe Lenin subconsciously understood that if he had parted with the unloved Nadia, reunited with Inessa, and there would have been no fatal trip to Kislovodsk, there would have been no lead coffin at the Kazan railway station, wreaths and black mourning ribbons? Answers to these and many other questions can only be given in the novel about Armand, Krupskaya and Lenin. Maybe someday write a joke like that. And our documentary and true story

waging is completed.

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